

[Information on Toda "clans" will also be found in category 614.]

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called *kalmelpudihiti*,¹ or "leg up he puts." It is usually a salutation in which women bow down before men, but it may also take place between two men or between two women, while on certain occasions a male may bow down and have his forehead touched by the feet of a woman.

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In the evening the buffaloes again find their way to the milking-place, and the operations of the morning are repeated. When these are finished the buffaloes are shut up in the enclosure, or *tu*, for the night; the lamp is now lighted and saluted by the men who use the same gesture as that with which the sun had been saluted in the morning. The people then take their food and retire to rest.

SKETCH OF SOCIAL ORGANISATION

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I shall consider the social organisation in detail at a much later stage, but it is necessary to give here a brief sketch in order to make its main features clear before going on to describe the Toda ceremonial, which often shows differences according to the division or clan with which the ceremony is connected. The fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol. As we shall see more fully later, there is a certain amount of resemblance between these two divisions and the castes of the Hindus. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. Further, marriage is not allowed between members of the two divisions, though certain irregular unions are permitted; a Tarthar man must marry a Tarthar woman, and a Teivali man a Teivali woman. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people.

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Each of these primary divisions is subdivided into a number of secondary divisions. These are exogamous, and I shall speak of them throughout this book as 'clans,' using this word as the best general term for an exogamous division of a tribe or community.

¹ This salutation has been previously known by its Badaga name, *adabuddihes*.

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Each clan possesses a group of villages and takes its name from the chief of these villages, the *etudmad*, and the people of a clan are known as *madol*, or village people.

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The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, which take their names from the villages of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Taradr, Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni, Päm, Nidrsi, Melgars, Kidmad, and Karsh.¹ The people of each clan are known as Nòdrsöl, Karsöl, Panöl, &c. The Kidmadöl and Karshöl are much less important than the other ten clans, having split off from the Melgarsöl in comparatively recent times. The original number of Tarthar clans appears to have been ten, and I have no record that any clan of this division has become extinct.

The Teivaliol are divided into six clans, or *madol*, taking their names from the villages of Kuudr, Piedr, Kusharf, Keadr, Pedrkars, and Kulhem. The people of Kuudr are called both Kuudrol and Kuurtol, and similarly the people of Piedr and Keadr are often called the Piertol and Keartol.

Here again two clans, the Pedrkarsöl and the Kulhemöl, are less important than the others. They are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but the separation is of very long standing.

There was some doubt as to the existence of another clan, the Kwaradröl, but it seemed certain that these people, who have now died out, formed a subdivision of the Keadrol.

One Teivali clan has become extinct, its last member having died, it was said, about a hundred years ago. This clan took its name from the village of Kemen, which was near Kiudr, but no trace of this village exists at present and I think it probable that the Kemenöl have been extinct longer than the Todas suppose.

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The villages of each clan are usually situated in the same part of the hills, though there are very often outlying villages far from the main group. At any one period of the year, only some of the villages of the clan are occupied. The people may move about from one village to another accord-

¹ In these names and throughout the text the signs to indicate long vowels are generally omitted. In order to ascertain the exact method of pronunciation, the map or the list of villages in Appendix III. should be consulted.

ing to the need for pasturage, and the villages in the Kundahs and other outlying parts of the hills appear only to be visited during the dry season before the south-west monsoon sets in.

Each clan is further subdivided, these subdivisions being of two kinds. One, called the *kudr*, is only of ceremonial importance, and we shall meet with it first in the chapter dealing with offerings. The other, called the *pōlm*, is of more practical importance, and is the basis of the machinery for regulating any expenses which fall on the clan as a whole.

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out to ordinary people (*perol*), or which come into contact with food or other materials obtained from ordinary people.

The things of the *patatmar* are always kept apart from those of the *ertatmar*. When the buffaloes migrate from one grazing-place to another, the things of the *patatmar* are carried by one man and those of the *ertatmar* by another.

In connexion with many dairies there is a house in which calves are kept, the *kwotars*, and a place for very young calves, called *kush* or *budsh*, which is sometimes partly formed by the spreading roots of a tree.

I am in some doubt as to whether the buffaloes belonging to a village dairy ever have a special *tu* in which they are enclosed for the night. In general, however, there is no doubt that the sacred buffaloes of the dairy occupy the same pen as the ordinary buffaloes. Similarly I am not clear whether the dairy always has its own *irkarmus*, or milking-place, or whether ordinary and sacred buffaloes are not often milked at the same spot, the dairyman recognising the buffaloes committed to his charge and milking them only.

Every dairy has its own place from which water is drawn the *pali nipa*. This may be a different stream from that used for household purposes, but is, perhaps, most commonly part of the same stream, the higher part being used for dairy purposes. When a village has more than one dairy, each dairy has its own place for drawing water, usually different parts of the same stream.

The foregoing account holds good of all kinds of village dairy. The different grades of village dairy present differences in the daily procedure, in the qualifications and rules of conduct of the dairyman, and in other respects. I will begin with the *tarvali* of the Tartharol.

THE TARVALI

This is the name applied to the lowest grade of Tarthar dairy and may mean "the ordinary dairy," the first syllable being probably the same as in the word "Tarthar."

The *tarvali* is always of the ordinary form and is never called *poh*. The dairyman, or *tarvalikartmakh*, is often a

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234 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but
 463 he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from
 618 other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted
 621 to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly
 limited to its own members in the choice of *tarvathartmohk*
 is that of Melgari. In all cases this grade of dairyman must
 be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other
 division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may
 receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*patkali*) in the year
 and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for
 the use of his family. I have no definite information whether
 anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan
 or family to which the dairy belongs.

[557] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, espe-
 cially when taken from another clan. I was often told that a
 man was working for another and was his servant, and always
 found that the so-called servant was *patihartmohk* at the dairy
 of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly,
 there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated
 with very great respect, except on ceremonial occasions and
 when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 The *tarvathartmohk* wears nothing but the *lavu*, or perineal
 292 band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called
 513 *intarthady* when milking. When away from his work or
 554 when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he
 558 wears the ordinary cloak, or *patkali*. He usually sleeps in the
 784 outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time
 in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch
 the sleeping-place (*idral*) and the floor (*dar*). If he touches
 any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and
 becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on
 the intercourse of the *tarvathartmohk* with women.

234 When the *tarvathartmohk* rises in the morning, he leaves
 512 the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10
 788 and saying *Sawi* or *Suwai*. He often also says this word when
 getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes
 out of the pen (*tu*) in which they had been put for the night
 and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

234 avoid touching anything in the hut except the sleeping-place
513 and the floor on pain of losing his office. He is allowed
554 intercourse with any Tarthar woman, but must have nothing
784 to do with the women of his own division, the Teivaliol.

[558] While in office, the *kudrpalikartmokh* is not allowed to visit the bazaar,¹ and if he does so he becomes an ordinary person at once. One afternoon when I was working with Parkurs (8), one of the elders of the Kars clan, Sakari (7), who had been *kudrpalikartmokh* at Kuzhu, came to announce that he had visited the bazaar at Ootacamund. He was therefore no longer *palikartmokh*, and he came to tell Parkurs that a successor must be appointed. It seemed to me in this case that Sakari had visited the bazaar because he was tired of office and wished to become free. I had a suspicion also that he wished to become acquainted with my proceedings, for he came straight to me from the bazaar and was one of my most regular attendants for some time after his deprivation. The *kudrpalikartmokh* is prohibited from entering a *tarvali*, though the *tarvalikartmokh* may enter a *kudrpali*.

234 The milk of buffaloes connected with a *kudrpali* is more
272 sacred than that of buffaloes milked at a *tarvali*. Any one
554 may drink milk from a *tarvali*, but the milk of the *kudrpali*
761 may only be drunk by the *palikartmokh*. If any one else
784 drink the milk of the *kudrpali* it is believed that he will die. I could learn of no case in which a man had taken this milk, but Kòdrner (7) had seen a cat die on the day it had drunk milk of the *martir*, the buffaloes of the *kudrpali* of Kars. Kòdrner was somewhat of a sceptic in connexion with many of the beliefs of his people, but he was very much in earnest on this occasion, and when my interpreter said he should like to drink some of the milk, Kòdrner offered to give him one hundred rupees if he drank the milk of *martir* for four days and remained alive.

173 The buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* are of
234 several named kinds. According to tradition, each clan at
618 the original distribution of buffaloes by Teikirzi (see p. 186) was given a certain kind. To Kars were given the buffaloes

¹ I am not sure whether this restriction does not also apply to the *tarvali-kartmokh*.

called *martir*; to Nòdrs were given *nashperthir*; to Pan, *pineipir*; to Melgars, *persasir*; these buffaloes originally given being called in general *nòdrodvair*; lit. "buffaloes who rule."

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In various ways the buffaloes originally given to one clan have passed into the possession of other clans. This has happened when buffaloes have been purchased, but is chiefly due to the existence of several customs which involve gifts of buffaloes. The tradition also runs that soon after the buffaloes were originally given, the Nòdrs people built the *kudrpali* with seven rooms to which I have already referred and begged the Kars people for *martir* to milk at this dairy. Similarly the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars to milk at their conical dairy, and similar transferences of buffaloes may have occurred between other clans. In these and possibly in other ways buffaloes have passed from one clan to another, and as the buffaloes have in many cases kept their original names, most clans now possess buffaloes of several kinds.

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I was for a long time very doubtful about the relation of the *kudrpali* and *tarvali* to one another, and had very great difficulty in finding out which buffaloes belonged to each kind of dairy. Finally, it became quite clear that the same buffaloes might be milked either at a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*, and that the possession of a *mani* was the chief point which determined whether a given dairy was a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*.

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The same kind of buffalo may be milked at one kind of dairy in one clan and at the other kind in another clan. The *nashperthir* of Nòdrs are milked at the *tarvali* of that place, but those of Kars are milked at the *kudrpali* together with the *martir*. Further, in at least one case, the same buffaloes might be milked in one village of a clan at a *kudrpali* and in another village at a *tarvali*. The Pan people now live chiefly at Naters and the chief villages of the clan in the Kundahs, Pan and Kuirs, are deserted during the greater part of the year. When these villages are occupied the *pineipir* are milked at their *kudrpali* dairies, but when the people are at Naters the same buffaloes are milked at the *tarvali*. The *mani* is left at Pan, and I was told that if the bell were to be

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234 brought to Naters a *kudrpali* would have to be built for its
 618 reception and the *pineipir* would then be milked at this dairy.

621 At the present time the only clan which has a *kudrpali* in
 778 constant use is that of Kars. The Pan clan only uses its
kudrpali during the few months that the villages in the
 Kundahs are occupied. The Nòdrs clan is said to have had a
kudrpali at one time, but the fact that they had to borrow
 buffaloes for it from Kars points to the especial connexion of
 the *kudrpali* with the latter clan.

Although the Karsol and Panol are the only clans which
 have a *kudrpali*, the special feature of which is the possession
 of a *mani*, these are not the only clans which own these
 sacred bells. In other cases the *mani* belongs to the next
 higher grade of dairy, the *wursuli*, and the Kars clan itself
 also possesses *mani* kept at this grade of dairy. Indeed,
 although the Kars *kudrpali* is said to have bells as its special
 feature, these bells do not really exist, having been stolen
 some years ago. The fiction of their presence is, however,
 kept up, and, as we have seen, the place where they should
 hang is still 'fed' with curd and milk.

234 In one case, that of the Kars *kudrpali*, I worked out in detail
 421 the ownership and care of the buffaloes called *martir*. There
 618 were altogether forty-eight of these buffaloes kept at six
 621 places and tended by seven dairymen, who were chosen
 from the Karsol or from the people of Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr or
 Keradr.

The distribution at the time of my visit was as follows :—

Kutadri (7) possessed 8 buffaloes kept at Kars tended by Idjen of Taradr (22)									
Kutthurs (12)	"	8	"	"	"	"	"	"	Tilipa of Kars (12)
Parkurs (8)	"	8	"	"	"	Isharadr	"	"	Kosners of Nòdrs (6)
Pidrvan (9)	"	6	"	"	"	Pakhalkudr	"	"	Tidjkudr of Nòdrs (6)
Kuinervan (14)	"	6	"	"	"	Peletkwar	"	"	Pons of Keradr (26)
Pòtheners (10)	"	6	"	"	"	Keshker	"	"	Palpa of Pan (16)
Nudriki (8)	"	3	"	"	"	Kuzhu	"	"	Mutkudr of Kars (15)
Mongeithi (15)	"	3	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

It will be noticed that in only two of the dairies did the
palikartmogh belong to the Karsol, and in each case he looked
 after the buffaloes of his own father, Mutkudr also tending
 the buffaloes of Nudriki. Idjen was the son-in-law of

Kutadri, and Palpa had married a Kars woman, who was not, however, closely related to Potheners, to whom he was acting as dairyman. Kosners and Tidjkudr were given to me as examples of a practice in which a man of one clan works for one of another,¹ and they received the same wages as in the case of the *tarvalikartmokh* (see p. 62).

These facts show clearly that the *kudrpalir* are not regarded as the property of the whole clan, but belong to different families, and the same is true of the buffaloes milked at the *tarvali*. Each family possesses its own sacred buffaloes as well as its ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*, and in some cases the buffaloes of each family have their own dairyman, even when the milk of two herds is churned in the same dairy.

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THE WURSULI

Most of the Tarthar clans possess herds of buffaloes called collectively *wursulir*, each herd being tended by a dairyman called *wursol* at a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursuli pali*. The buffaloes of different clans have special names. At Nòdrs, they are called *mersgursir*; at Kars and Taradr, *püdrshtipir*; at Pan, *kudecipir*; at Keradr, *miniapir*; and at Nidrsi and Kwòdrdoni, *keitankursir*. The people of Päm, Kanòdrs, and Melgars have no *wursulir*; Päm and Kanòdrs both had buffaloes of this kind at one time, but they have been allowed to die out. Melgars, on the other hand, never had *wursulir*, the tradition being that none of these buffaloes were assigned to the clan at the original partition by Teikirzi.

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The *wursulir* are said to have been given to most clans at the original partition of buffaloes, but no reason could be given for the creation of this special kind of buffalo. The Keradr clan are believed to have received their *wursulir* from Korateu (see Chap. IX), the buffaloes being descended from a sambhar calf given by this god.

A special feature of the *wursuli* is that the dairyman or *wursol* of this Tarthar dairy has to be taken either from the Teivaliol or from the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The

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¹ See Chapter XXIII.

234 Melgars people could hold the office of *wursol*, but had no
 463 *wursulir* themselves. At the present time the majority of
 554 men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only
 618 two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only
 when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the
 Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own
 division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges
 of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may
 perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain
 duties of the *wursol*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies,
 which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the
 office.

234 The *wursol* has to go through more complicated ordination
 554 ceremonies than the *palikartmokh*, and has a distinctly higher
 784 degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for
 793 his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary
 person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are
 more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

[292] The *wursol* has two dresses; one, the grey garment called
tuni, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy;
 the other, the ordinary *putkuli*, which he wears when not
 engaged at his special work.

[513] The *wursol* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of
 a different kind, a village which has a *wursuli* always having
 at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kndrpali*,

[834] and at Nòdrs in the *tarvali*. He is allowed to sleep in the
 hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz.,
 Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may

[558] have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these
 occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman.
 He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali
 woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of
 becoming an ordinary person.

[574] He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—
i.e., if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his
 own people.

562 When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove
 784 from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *murn* or
 793 sieve, the *wask* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

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In the afternoon the *wursol* again washes his hands, bows down to the threshold and enters the dairy, salutes the *mani*, touches the *majpariv* and *patat* as in the morning, and lights the fire. He then lights the lamp, and prays, using the prayer of the village. Then he churns and "feeds the bell," but his procedure differs from that of the morning in that he distributes the buttermilk at this stage of the proceedings. When he milks he puts some of the first milk on the bell, and when he shuts up the buffaloes in their enclosure (*tu*) for the night, he recites the same prayer as when lighting the lamp. He then takes his food, eating it outside the dairy, puts his *tuni* on the *patatmar*, and goes to rest.

The procedure thus differs from that of the *tarvali* and *kudrpali* in that the dairy vessels are touched ceremonially at the beginning of both morning and evening operations. The *wursuli* resembles the other dairies, however, in that prayer is offered in the evening only. The differences are less pronounced in ritual than in the rules of conduct.

THE KUGVALI OF TARADR

- 234 The people of Taradr have a special institution which is in
 ● 618 many ways intermediate between the dairies of the village
 621 and the institution to be described in the next chapter—the *ti*.

The buffaloes connected with this institution are known as the *kugvalir*. They are said to belong to the whole of the Tartharol, but this only seems to mean that they are so important that every Toda looks up to them and feels that they are in some measure his. It does not mean that every Toda has a voice in their management or share in their produce.

The people of Taradr are divided into six families (*pōlm*), and each family has charge of the *kugvalir* in turn for periods of three years, the head of the family having the chief direction. At the present time they are in charge of Siriar (20), having only recently passed to his family.

The head of the family in charge appoints the dairyman, who is called *kugvalikartmikh*. This dairyman must be a

234 member of the Taradr clan, but need not necessarily be a
 343 member of the family in charge.

618 Each of the chief Taradr villages has a special dairy for
 621 the *kugvalir*. It is called the *kugvali* (*kugpali*) or chief dairy
 (*kug*=*etud*=chief), and it was said to be the chief of all the
 dairies. All these dairies have one room only, except that at
 Taradr itself, where there are two rooms. These dairies do
 not at present differ in form or general appearance from



FIG. 24.—THE 'KUGVALI' OF TARADR. ON ITS LEFT IS THE 'KWOTARS,' AND ON THE EXTREME RIGHT, UNDER THE TREE, IS THE 'KUSH.' THE FLAT STONE TO THE RIGHT OF THE 'KUGVALI' IS THE 'PÜDSHTIKARS' (see p. 654).

dairies of other kinds. The *kugvali* at Taradr is shown in Fig. 24, and it is the dairy on the right-hand side of Fig. 5.

234 The *kugvalir* have one feature peculiar to themselves. They are never recruited from any other herd. Even the buffaloes of the *ti* often have additions to their number, especially through the ceremony of *irnörtiti* (Chap. XIII), but in no circumstances are any additions from outside made to the *kugvalir*.

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

THE MÒROL

I have said that no ordinary Toda is allowed to approach the *palol* except on certain days, and then may only go to a certain place in the surroundings of the *ti*. There is, however, one very remarkable exception to this rule, the members of certain clans having the privilege of going to the *ti* at any time and taking buttermilk (*mòr*). Owing to the latter privilege they are always known as *mòrol*.

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The most important *mòrol* are the members of the Melgars clan, and at the Nòdrs *ti* they are the only people possessing these peculiar rights. A Melgars man may go to the *ti* on every day of the week, when he enters the small enclosure in which the dairy is situated, going, however, by a special opening at the back so that he does not actually pass the dairy and sits down in front of or may enter the sleeping hut. He is given buttermilk by the *kaltmòkh* after it has been given to the *palol*, and he also receives food. At the Nòdrs *ti* the two *palol* divide the responsibility of providing food between them; if four *mòrol* come, each *palol* gives food for two men.

The rights of the Melgarsol appear to be exercised very constantly. I rarely visited the Mòdr *ti* without finding several *mòrol* present, and so far as I could observe they made the most of their privileges and enjoyed themselves well. It was very remarkable to see several Todas making themselves quite at home at the *ti*, while other Todas were standing outside wholly prohibited from entering into the life of the place. On one occasion when I visited Mòdr, the brother of one *palol* was standing without at the appointed spot waiting till the business of the morning was over, while several *mòrol* were within enjoying their privileges to the full.

The Melgarsol have certain other rights and duties in connexion with the *ti*, and especially on the occasion of the procession which takes place when the buffaloes migrate from one place to another (see Chap. VI), after which ceremony the *mòrol* sleep at the *ti mad*. At some dairies members of other clans may act as *mòrol*, but in no case do they occupy quite so privileged a position as the people of Melgars. Thus, at

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554 the Kars and the Pan *ti* the people of Kars are *mòrol*, but they may only visit the *ti* and take buttermilk and are not allowed to sleep there, nor have they any of the special ceremonial duties of the Melgarsol.

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[358] When the dairy of a *ti mad* needs to be repaired or rebuilt, this is done by Melgars men, who must previously undergo an ordination ceremony of the same character as that for the office of *wursol*, and the men rank as *wursol* while engaged in the work. The hut of the *ti mad* is also repaired or rebuilt by the Melgarsol, but in this case the work is done without any special ceremony. In either case the Melgars men are not allowed to leave the *ti mad*, and they sleep in the living hut while the work is being done.

[764] Another duty of the Melgarsol is to assist in carrying the corpse of a *palol* who has died in office.

[123] On the occasion of the *teutiitusthchi* ceremony in 1902, when the *palol* and *kalmokh* left the dairy at *Mòdr* for several hours, I found a Melgars man in the neighbourhood of the dairy, and it seemed to me that he was watching the dairy while the regular guardians were away. I was told however, that this was not one of the recognised duties of a *mòrol*, and I suspected that he was stationed at *Mòdr* at the time of my visit, because it was feared that I might take advantage of the absence of the *palol* to make a closer inspection of the dairy than was allowed.

NEW DAIRY VESSELS

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439 The earthenware vessels of the inner room (*persin* and *tòrzum*) are procured from Hindus through the Badagas. They were formerly obtained from a place called Kulpet (Kundapeta), near Nanjankudi in Mysore, and I was told that the Todas used to go down to fetch them.

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415 The earthenware vessels of the outer room (*alug*) are obtained from the Kotas like those of the ordinary dairy. The churn or *kòghlag* is made by the Todas themselves from the slender bamboo growing on the hills.

The material out of which the bamboo vessels (*kwoi*, *idrkwoi*, *karpun*, *uppun*) are made, is procured from a place

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which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti* was Kateidipoh (Breeks, Katedva).

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The *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must be chosen either from the people of Piedr or from those of Kusharf. Originally it was ordained that the *palol* should be chosen from the Piedrol, but later the Kuudr people obtained the right of becoming *palol*. This lasted till about seven or eight generations ago, when there is a story that the people of Kwurg (Coorg) came to fight the Todas and drove off the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, which were standing at Mòdr. The *palol* was touched by the Kwurg people and in consequence ceased to be *palol*, but instead of pursuing the invaders, he sat down by the *ti* waiting till he could be reinstated in his office. The *kaltmokh*, who belonged to Piedr, followed the Kwurg people, who had carried off a large *mani* called Kän, and some people of Nòdrs and Kusharf also followed with the boy. The Kwurg people saw the *kaltmokh* and told him that he might have the buffaloes back if he would give them as many rupees as Kän would hold. The *kaltmokh* had inside his loincloth a little gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he took out and put into Kän and immediately the bell became full of rupees and the gold coin fell out. The Kwurg people took the rupees, and the *kaltmokh* took the bell and drove the buffaloes back to Mòdr.

As the Kwurg people were making their way home, they suddenly found that all the rupees had disappeared, so they turned and pursued the *kaltmokh* and the buffaloes. Then the *kaltmokh* prayed:

Per wadrth vèdrnâ, kârs wadrth vèdrnâ, män mas vèdrnâ.

"May the high hills be broken, may the rocks be broken, may the trees fall down."

Directly there was a loud noise, the hills were divided, stones rattled, and trees fell down. Then the Kwurg people were afraid and returned to their own homes.¹ The Todas held a council, and it was decided that, as the *palol* had not

¹ This legendary account probably preserves a tradition of a real invasion of the Nilgiri Hills by the people of Coorg. The Todas put the date of the occurrence at about seven or eight generations ago. In 1774 Linga Raja, with 3,000 Coorgs, invaded the Wainad and remained there for five years. During this time it is highly probable that the Coorgs would have explored the Nilgiri Hills. (See *Mysore and Coorg*, by Lewis Rice, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii, p. 110.)

followed the buffaloes, the Kuudr people should no longer have the privilege of becoming *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, and that in future the *palol* of this *ti* should be taken either from Piedr or Kusharf.

At the present time¹ the *palol* of the *tiir* is Karkievan of Piedr, who has now been continuously in office for sixteen years, having also had a previous period of office as *palol*. The *palol* of the *warsir* is Nerponers of Kusharf (66), who had been in office for about a year at the time of my visit. The *kaltmokh* is Katsog of Kuudr (55).

Although now one *palol* belongs to Piedr and the other to Kusharf, it is not necessary that this should be so and it has happened frequently that both *palol* have belonged to the Piedrol.

The *mani* of the *tiir*, which is said to be made of iron, is that called Persin, of whose miraculous birth an account has been given. The *mani* of the *warsir* is called Keu, and is said to be made partly of gold, partly of silver, and partly of iron. Milk is put on the former bell by the *palol* at every churning and milking, but Keu is not 'fed.'

In addition there are four *mani* of the kind called *kudrs*, which are tied to the *punir* and kept outside the door of the dairy. Three of these belong to the *punir* of the *ti palol*, and are called Arvatz, Kiùdz, and Kerâni, and should be tied to buffaloes named Püthiov, Peires, and Nersâdr respectively. The fourth bell belongs to the *punir* of the *wars palol*, and is called Kerâni. It should be tied to a buffalo named Tâlg.

The lamp of the *wars pol* is one of those made of iron, and is said to have come from Amnòdr. It is called Ònâvpelk, the lamp of the seven holes. The *ti pol* had a similar lamp at one time, but it has been lost.

Three horns are kept in the sleeping-hut of the Nòdrs *ti*. Two belong to the *tiir*, and are called Kiùdrkùdr and Pudothkùdr. The third belongs to the *warsir*, and is called Teigun. (For the origin of these horns see the story of Korateu or Kuzkarv in Chap. IX.)

One feature of the *ti pol* at Mòdr, which is certainly not

¹ In 1902.

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may have been made of bronze. There is also a bell belonging to the *parsir* called Talg.

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Formerly the *palol* of the Kars *ti* was chosen from the Melgarsol, but this clan lost the privilege owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number when holding the sacred office. The buffaloes were standing at Enòdr, and the Melgars *palol* was milking a buffalo, when he saw a honey-bee. He got up, left the buffalo, and went after the bee, leaving his milking-vessel behind. He followed the bee, found the nest, took the comb, ate some of the honey, gave the remainder to the *kaltmokh* to put in the hut, and then went back and continued to milk the buffalo, whose name was Kän. When he had finished milking, he was taking the milk into the dairy when a plank fell on his head and he was killed. Then it was decided that Melgars people should no longer be *palol*, and that the office in future should be filled from the Teivaliol. Whenever the Todas wish to refer to the fact that the Melgars people have lost the right of being *palol*, they say, "*Kän kârvâk kiâzthenis âpi vâchi*," or, "Kän milking, bee he followed after."

The *palol* is now taken from Piedr, Kusharf or Kuudr, and the present holder of the office is Nòdrners (67) of Kusharf. The dairies of this *ti* are always near those of the Pan *ti*, and the two *palol* share one *kaltmokh* between them, the present holder of this office being Teitun (64) of Piedr.

THE PAN TI

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The legend of the origin of this *ti* will be given in full in the story of Kwoten (Chap. IX). When this hero was reproved by his wife because the Pan people had no *ti*, he obtained buffaloes from the Nòdrs *ti*, so that the Pan *ti* appears to have been later in origin than those of Nòdrs and Kars, and to have been derived from the former.

Certain of the buffaloes are reputed to be descended from an ancestor made by Teikhars or Kulinkars (see the story of this god in Chap. IX).

The most important dairy of this *ti* appears to have been situated at Tarsòdr or Tazòdr in the Kundahs, which is the

173 The dairy of the *warsir*, or the *warspoh*, is closed and may
 234 not be entered by the *palol*, and he is not allowed to milk
 618 the *warsir*, though he may milk the *punir* belonging to the
warspoh.

793 Formerly the *palol* of the *tarsir* was chosen from the
 Kwaradr division of the Keadrol and the *palol* of the *warsir*
 from the other division of this clan, this arrangement being
 said to have been ordained by Kwoten.

The Kwaradr division is now extinct and the remainder of
 the Keadrol are not very numerous, and the present *palol* of
 the *tarsir* is Peilet (64) of Piedr. A few years ago both
 dairies were occupied, the *palol* of the *tarsir* being Naburs
 (64) of Piedr, and the *palol* of the *warsir*, Pichievan (69) of
 Keadr. The latter is said to have thrown up his office
 because the income was not large enough.

[765] If there should be a death among the Panol, the second
 funeral ceremonies (the *marvainolkedr*, or so-called 'dry
 funeral') could not take place unless both dairies were
 occupied. Since Pichievan resigned, no Pan man has died,
 but when this happens a second *palol* would have to be
 appointed before the *marvainolkedr* could be held.

234 The *tarsir* have two bells, called Kòsi and Pongg. The
 354 former is tied on a buffalo called Kòsi, and Pongg on one
 778 called Enmars. Milk is only put on the bell called Kòsi.
 463 At the dairy of these buffaloes there is an iron lamp of the
 ancient kind with seven cavities and seven wicks, and the horn
 is called Kwatadr. The *warsir* have one bell, called Keituzan,
 which is put round the neck of a buffalo called Kòjiu. The
 old iron lamp belonging to these buffaloes has been lost and an
 earthenware or bark lamp is used in its stead. The horn
 is called Persagan, but as these buffaloes have no *palol*, this
 horn is not now blown.

The people of Pan are *mòrol* at this *ti*.

THE KWÒDRDONI TI

234 There was some difference of opinion as to the origin of
 173 this *ti*, which is often called the Arsair *ti* by the Todas.

773 According to one account, given to me by Kwòdrdoni people,

pohvelkars in front of the dairy. The *palol* asks three times, "*Tunitusthpacha?*"—"Have you returned from washing the *tuni?*"—and each time the boy replies, "*tunitusthpuspini?*"—"I have come from washing the *tuni.*" Then both *palol* and boy go to the front of the *kadr* in which the calves are kept and the *palol* puts into the gate three bars (*tasth*), which shut the opening of the enclosure. The boy asks three times, "*Tasth-vatkina?*"—"Shall I touch the *tasth?*"—and each time the *palol* replies "*Tasthvat!*" The boy, who hitherto has been *perkursorol*, now touches the *tasth*, and by so doing attains the full rank of *kalmokh*, and at once goes and pours buttermilk (*kaishtvatiti*) for the *palol*.

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The latter parts of the ordination ceremonies of the *kalmokh*, from the point at which he receives *petuni* from the *palol* to the touching of the *tasth*, are always performed whenever the *kalmokh* returns to the *ti* after a journey in which it has been necessary to degrade himself to the rank of *perkursorol* (see p. 100). The initial stages of becoming a *kalmokh* are known in general as *niròdibudnadr*.

THE ORDINATION OF THE PALOL

In accordance with the fact that the *palol* belongs to the highest and most sacred grade of the dairy-priesthood, we find that the ceremonies preceding his entrance upon office are far more elaborate and prolonged than for the minor grades.

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In order that a Teivali man may become a candidate for the office of *palol* he must first have gone through a preliminary qualifying ceremony called *tesherst*. When the office of *palol* becomes vacant, the people of the clan to which the *ti* belongs are restricted in their choice to those men who have been through this ceremony. When one of these qualified men has been selected, he then goes through the proper ordination ceremonies, known as *niròditi*.

In the case of a *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, the *niròditi* ceremonies are performed partly at Nòdrs, partly at Òdr, one of the most sacred villages of the Nòdrs clan, and finally at the *ti mad* where he is to hold office.

~~At the present time most of the gods are believed to~~

inhabit the summits of the hills, but they are not seen by mortals. Before the Todas were created, the gods lived on the Nilgiri Hills alone, and then it is believed that there followed a period during which gods and men inhabited the hills together. The gods ruled the men, ordained how they should live and originated the various customs of the people. The Todas can now give no definite account of their beliefs about the transition from this state of things to that which now exists.

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Each clan of the Todas has a deity especially connected with it. This deity is called the *nòdrodchi* of the clan, and is believed to have been the ruler of the clan when gods and men lived together. I am doubtful whether there is at the present time any belief that the *nòdrodchi* exerts an influence over the clan with which he is connected.

[618]●

There was no department of Toda lore which gave me greater difficulty than the study of the beliefs about the gods. There was no doubt that two gods stood out pre-eminent among the rest. One was a male deity whose name was Òn, and the other a female deity, Teikirzi. A simple question which I had the greatest difficulty in settling was the relation of these deities to one another. According to one account they were brother and sister; according to another, father and daughter. It seemed quite certain they were not husband and wife, and most probable that they were brother and sister. Others of the gods were believed to be related to one another, but on such points as this I found it almost impossible to obtain trustworthy information. It may have been reticence which made the difficulty, but I do not think so, and am inclined to think that the Todas have now only vague ideas about the histories of their more ancient gods, and have nothing like the definite traditions which they possess about deities of obviously more recent origin.

Sometimes there were discrepancies between different accounts which I could not clear up, and in such cases I give the account which seems to me to be the most trustworthy.

Elnākhum is said to have built the long wall which still exists at the village of Nòdrs.

The story of Kwoten reads very much like that of a man who really lived and was deified after his death. The minute detail with which several of the natural incidents of his life are known might be held to point in this direction, but perhaps more important is the fact that his ring can still be seen, and that his spear was, according to Breeks, in existence not long ago. It looks as if Kwoten was a man who raised Pan from a comparatively insignificant position among the Todas to be one of their chief clans, and was the means of introducing several innovations in Toda custom. It is probable that he was deified after his death, and that some of the incidents of his life have acquired miraculous characters.

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KWOTO OR MEILITARS

There was once a man belonging to Melgars who married a woman of Kanòdrs and took her to Melgars. When she became pregnant, the woman was taken by her husband to Kanòdrs. On the way back to Melgars they passed Ushadr, the place where the funeral ceremonies of Melgars men took place. They were standing in front of the funeral hut at that place when the man found a good *twadri* tree,¹ and, cutting three or four sticks from it, brought them to his wife, who stripped the bark from the sticks. While she was doing this, the pains of labour came on, and soon after she gave birth to a gourd (*kem*). Both husband and wife were very much ashamed, and they decided to say that a child had been born and had died, and the man went round to all the villages to say that this had happened and that the funeral would be held at Ushadr. Accordingly they had the *etvai-nolkedr* (first funeral ceremony) at Ushadr, the gourd being covered with a *putkuli* (cloak), so that it was taken to be the body of a child.

First the buffaloes were caught and killed, and then the supposed corpse was taken to the burning-place, where a fire

¹ Probably the tree or bush from which the material called *twadrinar* is manufactured by the Todas.

234 very few in number, and this offering is also known as
431 *irnörtiti*, and is given with the same ceremonial as when an
offence has been committed.

782 The gift of a buffalo to the *ti* dairy must take place on a Thursday or Sunday. On the morning of the day the man making the offering, who is called the *irnörtipol*, abstains from food and goes to the *ti mad* with a female calf between one and two years of age. He may be accompanied by other men, usually those closely related to him. The men go to the outskirts of the dairy and wait there till the morning business of the dairy is concluded, each man carrying a green stick, either a *kwadrikurs* or *avelashkikurs*. When the *palol* has finished his work he goes towards the men on the outskirts of the dairy, also carrying a stick of the same kind, and as he approaches, the other men drive the calf towards him, and when it reaches the *palol*, he drives it so that it joins the buffaloes of his herd. The *palol* then gives food to the *irnörtipol* and his companions, who eat it on the spot, where they remain till after sunset, when they return home. If the calf given belongs to the *putiir*, it becomes one of the *punir* of the *ti*, but if it is of one of the sacred kinds, *pasthir*, *wursulir*, &c., it joins one of the sacred herds of the *ti*.

IRNÖRTITI, TUNINÖRTITI AND PILINÖRTITI

782 We now come to three kinds of offering, with their attendant ceremonial, which are of a much more complex nature.
796 These are *irnörtiti*, *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti*, in which the
618 offerings are a buffalo calf, a piece of the cloth called *tuni*,
623 and a silver ring respectively. The first two offerings are
made only when one of a certain number of recognised
688 offences has been committed, and in order to bring about the removal of some misfortune which has befallen the offender. *Pilinörtiti*, on the other hand, is usually performed to bring about the cessation of some ill-fortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer, but it may also be done in expiation of an offence.

One essential feature common to all three offerings is that

the primary divisions of the clan called *kudr* (see p. 542) here become of importance. 782

Nearly every Toda clan is divided into two *kudr*, and the offerings in the three ceremonies always pass from one *kudr* to the other. The offering which is given by a man of one *kudr* becomes the property of the members of the other *kudr*. At the present time the *kudr* is of no importance except in connexion with these ceremonies, and, so far as I could learn, it never had any other significance. There are a few clans of recent origin which have no *kudr*, and members of these clans cannot make the offerings. In other clans, one *kudr* has become extinct, and so long as no occasion for these ceremonies should arise, nothing is done to supply the deficiency. As a general rule, it is only when some trouble arises which may require one or other of these ceremonies that a redistribution of the members of the clan is made, and it is decided that one or more of the *pdm* or smaller sub-divisions of the clan shall be constituted a new *kudr*. 796 618 673 688

The following are the chief offences for which the *irnörtiti* or *tuinörtiti* ceremonies have to be performed:— 234 782

(i) Stealing milk, butter, buttermilk, or ghi from the dairy. 796

(ii) Going to the dairy after having had intercourse with a woman in the day-time. 673 688

(iii) Quarrelling between people of the same clan on a feast day.

(iv) Quarrelling in the dairy.

(v) Going to the dairy after visiting the seclusion-hut for women (see Chap. XIV).

(vi) Going to the dairy after taking food with a man who has been to the seclusion-hut,

(vii) Going to the dairy after throwing earth at a funeral (see Chap. XV).

(viii) Going to the dairy after chewing tobacco.

(ix) Buying or selling buffaloes on the *madnol* or sacred day of the village or on the *palinol*, the sacred day of the dairy (see Chap. XVII).

(x) Driving buffaloes from one place to another on these days.

688 offences have brought upon him. Giving the buffalo is
782 clearly of the nature of a 'sin offering,' but the offering
783 is only made when the sin has already had evil
673 consequences and it is made in order to remove these
consequences. Its object is atonement for an offence com-
796 mitted. It seemed that a man only had resort to the advice
of the diviners in the case of exceptionally severe misfortunes.
The act of giving the buffalo is attended by ceremonial which
involves considerable expense to himself and great incon-
venience to all the members of his clan. The expenses
and inconvenience are so great that the ceremonies of
irnörtiti and *tuninörtiti* are rarely performed, and in some
clans it is many years since they have occurred.

[793] There is one case in which the *irnörtiti* ceremony may be
performed for a reason quite different from any of those
given above. Owing to a quarrel which took place many
generations ago, the people of Pedrkars (and probably also
those of Kulhem) may not hold the office of *palol*. They may
become eligible, however, if they perform the *irnörtiti*
ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr. It would seem as if they can
only hold the office by expiating the offence committed in the
remote past by their ancestors.

THE IRNÖRTITI CEREMONY

778 This ceremony takes place at certain prescribed villages,
796 usually at the chief village of the clan, though when a clan has
several important dairies the ceremony may be performed at
618 any of them. Thus, members of the Kuudrol may give the
buffalo at Kuudr, Kiudr or Miuni.

At nearly every village there is an appointed spot, usually
marked by a stone or a group of stones, called *irnörthars*, at
which the ceremony is to be performed. At Kars there is a
row of stones, shown in Fig. 42. At Nòdrs the appointed
spot is a pool of water (Fig. 43) by the side of a gap in the
long wall of that village.

618 On the day before the new moon following the vow to give
796 the buffalo, all the women leave the village at which the
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618 ceremony is to take place, and all the men of the same *kudr*
 796 as the man who is giving the buffalo must also leave
 621 the village if they should be living there. Their place is
 taken by men of the *kudr* which is to receive the buffalo. If
 men of both *kudr* are living at the village, those of the giving
kudr go and those of the receiving *kudr* remain; thus, when
 Kôdmer, who lives at Kars, made his offering, he and his
 brother left and went to live at another village of the clan,
 while Parkurs and his brothers, who belong to the other *kudr*,
 remained behind. If there is a *wursuli* at the village, the
wursol remains at his post. If the *palikartmokh* is of the same
kudr as the offender, he leaves and a new dairyman from the
 other *kudr* is appointed. All the men who remain at the
 village sleep in the outer room of the dairy—at Kars, in the
 outer room of the *kudrpali*. The *palikartmokh* does his dairy
 work in the inner room as usual and sleeps in the outer room
 with the rest.

The people live thus at the village for a month, no women,
 no men of the offending *kudr* and no people of other clans
 being allowed to visit them.

The actual ceremony takes place at the end of this month,
 on the Sunday following the new moon. On the Saturday
 the man, called the *irnôrtpol*, who is to make the offering
 brings a female calf between one and two years of age to a
 wood near the village and makes a rough temporary calf
 enclosure (*kadr*), tying the calf to a tree. If the calf is
 troublesome, the man and his companions may sleep in the
 wood by the side of the calf, but generally they leave it in the
 wood and go to sleep in the village where they have been
 living. The calf must have no blemish, its eyes must be clear,
 and no part of its ears or tail may be cut.¹

On the following morning a boy between ten and fifteen
 years of age is chosen, who is called *ponkartvaimokh*, the boy
 who observes the festival. It is his duty to drive the calf.

All those who are to be present take in their hands green
 sticks of the kind called *kwadrikurs*. All have their right

¹ The special mention of uncut ears and tail in this and the *arkumpitkimi*
 ceremony suggests that the widely spread practice of cutting the ears of animals
 may occur among the Todas, but I have no other notes on the subject.

arms outside their cloaks (*kevenarus*), and must have bathed in the morning and abstained from food.

When the time for the ceremony comes, the *ponkartvaimokh*, who is followed by the *irnörtol* and other men of his division, drives the calf towards the village. The people in the village then call out "*Irnört! it vos!*"—"Give the buffalo! Come here!" and they go to the appointed place and stand on the dairy side of the *irnörtkars*, or other spot appointed for the ceremony, while the calf is driven up towards the stones or other mark from the side away from the dairy. The *palikartmokh*, naked except for the *kuvn*, and the *wursol*, with the *tuni* round his loins, stand with the people of the receiving *kudr*. When the *ponkartvaimokh* has driven the calf up to the place, he asks three times, "*Irnörtkina?*"—"Shall I give the buffalo?"—and the *palikartmokh* replies each time, "*Irnört!*" The boy then drives the calf across the stones or other mark to the place where the buffaloes of the receiving *kudr* are standing. According to one account, the calf is driven direct into the *tu*, but it seems almost certain that this is wrong, though it may be that it is the practice of some clans. The calf then becomes the property of the *kudr* whose representatives have been living at the village. At Nödrs the calf is driven through the gap in the wall and across the pool of water in the direction of the conical dairy.

All those present, both the man who has given the calf and his companions and those who have received the calf, bow down to the ground, resting their foreheads on the ends of their cloaks (as in Fig. 44), and utter a formula different for each clan. At Kars it runs:—

Sudmi, Teiktrai, Tärziolv, Kärziolv, Kärzē ultāmd; tr hark ultāmd; irnörtvāspimi,¹ ultāmd.

Then all present go to the dairy or dairies and bow down at the threshold. At Kars they go to Tärziolv (the *kudrpālī*), to Kärziolv (the *wursul*), and to Kärzu (the buffalo pen) and

¹ Or *irnörtvāspimi*, "buffalo giving have we come." The whole formula runs, "*Sudmi, Teiktrai, the kudrpālī, the wursul, the buffalo pen, may it be well; may it be well with the buffaloes and calves; buffalo giving have we come, may it be well.*"

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- 618 bow down at the threshold of each, and then all partake
 796 of a feast. The food has been prepared by the dairy-
 621 man, and includes the special kind called *ashkkartpimi*,
 which is eaten outside the dairy. Only the men of the clan
 who have taken part in the ceremony may be present at
 this feast.

After the feast all the men belonging to the *kudr* of the
irnörtol must again leave the village, but the only one of

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FIG. 44.—THE 'NERSATITI' SALUTATION.

their number who is subject to any special restrictions is the boy who has acted as *ponkartvaimokh*, who must avoid women and must sleep in the dairy of some village until the end of the whole business. He is spoken of as being in the condition called *pon* and derives his name from this.

The *wursol* and the *palikartmokh* of the village at which the ceremony has taken place must stay there for another month, but the men of the *kudr* which has received the calf may stay there or not as they please. No women and no

people other than men of the same *kudr* may visit the village during this time.

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At the end of the month the people who have been occupying the village rub the dairy or dairies thoroughly with buffalo-dung (*palikaratiti*, dairy he purifies). All the people of the village then return and another feast takes place, in which the food is rice boiled in milk. Then the usual inhabitants of the village return to their houses, and if any men of the receiving *kudr* have come from another village, they return and life resumes its normal course.

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* may thus involve the removal of the usual inhabitants from a village for about two months, and the giving of two feasts, while the man who has offended also loses a calf. The Todas probably think little of the inconvenience of removal, though probably they are more troubled by it now than in former times, especially when they have to leave a village like Kars, which is, under normal circumstances, always inhabited at the present time. It seems that the inconvenience, together with the expense of the feasts, is sufficient to render the ceremony a very unusual incident in the lives of the Todas.

TUNINÖRTITI

The smaller importance of this ceremony as compared with *irnörtiti* is shown in several ways. The ceremony may be performed at any village at which there is a dairy, and it is not necessary for the people of the receiving *kudr* to stay at the village for a month before the ceremony is performed.

The prescribed day is Sunday, and on the previous day all the people of the same *kudr* as the giver of the *tuni* leave the village, and the men of the other division come and sleep in the dairy as before the *irnörtiti* ceremony. The man who gives the *tuni* is called the *tuninörtpol*, and he procures the garment from a Badaga, paying for it about 1 rupee 4 annas.

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On the Sunday morning the *tuninörtpol* comes with some companions, all having abstained from food. The *palikartmohh*, who must be of the same *kudr* as the other men at the village, goes to the front of the dairy and one of the men calls out,

- 618 "Tuninörtpol bon!"—"Cloth giving man, come!" The
 796 *tuninörtpol*, who is standing at an appointed spot not far off,
 621 goes to the dairy, lays the *tuni* at its threshold, and bows down,
 touching the cloth with his forehead. While he is doing this
 the *palikartmokh* prays in the inner room of the dairy and the
 men staying at the village pray in the outer room. Then the
tuninörtpol enters the dairy and is given buttermilk and food
 by the *palikartmokh*, after which he stays in a wood near the
 dairy all day and returns to the village where he is living after
 night-fall. The people of the receiving *kudr* stay at the
 village for a month, at the end of which they have a feast and
 then all return to their own villages.

PILINÖRTITI

- 782 In this ceremony a man gives a silver ring. The offering
 783 is differentiated from those already described in that it may
 688 be given to bring about the removal of misfortunes which are
 796 not due to any offence committed by the man. In some
 618 cases, however, the ceremony may be undertaken as an
 621 atonement for an offence. Kòdrner, my guide, had to give
 a ring to the dairy at Kiudr in the general distribution of
 penalties which followed my visit.

The custom of *pilinörtiti* is limited to certain villages or
 clans. According to some accounts it is only followed at
 the villages of Kiudr and Kanòdrs, noted for the special
 sanctity of their dairies. According to others the ceremony
 is performed by the Karsol at the dairy of Kuzhu, and at
 Nidrsi I was shown a small stone, almost completely buried in
 the ground, which was called the *pilinörtkars*, and this indicates
 that the ceremony was also at one time performed at this
 village. The ceremony is certainly of especial importance at
 Kiudr, and the following description is of the procedure at
 this place.

- 782 If a man has no children, or if he becomes ill, or if his
 783 buffaloes give no milk, he may make a vow to do *pilinörtiti*.
 618 If he is a member of the Kuudrol, the people of the *kudr* to
 796 which he does not belong go to the dairy. The offerer of the
 ring sleeps the night before in the dairy of his village and goes

in the morning with one companion to Kiudr, taking care that no one sees him by the way. Both must go without food. 782
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On reaching Kiudr the two men go to the stream called Keikudr¹ which flows between the dairy and the dwelling-huts, and after washing hands and face in the stream they wait there. The people of the other *kudr* who are in the dairy light a lamp and place it between the two rooms, and then one goes to the door of the dairy and calls out three times "*Pilinörtpol bon !*" The men at the stream are not within sight, but they hear the summons and come to the front of the dairy. The men in the dairy lay the *tuni* of the dairyman at the threshold and the *pininörtpol* places the ring on the cloth and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead, and prays as follows:—

<i>Tānenmā;</i>	<i>tārmāmā;</i>	<i>atch</i>	<i>kar</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>mā,</i>	<i>atch</i>
May it be well,	may it be well;	little	calf	give	may,	little
<i>mōk</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>mā;</i>	<i>kar</i>	<i>kūlāth,</i>	<i>kar</i>	<i>kūleiti</i>
son	give	may;	calf	not refuse milk,	calf	take milk
<i>mā,</i>	<i>kar</i>	<i>neśāth,</i>	<i>neśēiti</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>mā;</i>	<i>opāth</i>
may,	calf	not kick away,	stand	give	may;	once
<i>āthi</i>	<i>panerā</i>	<i>kwar</i>	<i>arki</i>	<i>mādi;</i>	<i>nā</i>	<i>ārē mā;</i>
it is	twelve	years	vow	will;	may there be	no disease;
<i>nūdi</i>	<i>ārē mā;</i>	<i>kazun</i>	<i>ārē mā;</i>	<i>per</i>		
may there be	no trouble;	may there be	no <i>kazun</i> ;	may there be		
<i>ārē mā.</i>						
no Tamil.						

The free rendering of this prayer was said to be as follows:—

"May it be well; may my buffaloes have calves; may I have children; may my calves have milk, and may they not be kicked away by their mothers; as surely as I am shortly to take food, do I make my vow for ever and ever; may I and my buffaloes be free from disease; may no evil befall me; may there be no *kazun* (see p. 403) to kill me; may no Tamil or other outsiders come to disturb me."

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted: 000

¹ This is mentioned in the prayer of the Kiudr dairy (see p. 220).

³⁰⁵ THE TODAS *The last clause* CHAP.
~~was said by Samuel to be interpreted!~~

186 "Let me not get into trouble with the government," but it is
 782 probably much older than this interpretation would indicate,
 805 and refers to the former dislike of the Todas to any inter-
 193 course with people other than the Badagas and Kotas.
 "Twelve years" is a common expression for an indefinitely
 long time, and may be translated "for ever." The practice of
 combining positive and negative sentences as in this prayer is
 one which seems to be not uncommon in the Toda language.
 It will be noticed that several of the clauses are identical
 with those of the prayer ordinarily used in the dairy.

782 When the *pilinörtpol* has finished his prayer he rises, and
 783 the *palikartmokh* takes up the *tuni* and the ring and puts
 796 them in the dairy. Then the *pilinörtpol* and his companions
 618 go into the outer room of the dairy and take food prepared
 by the dairyman, after which they go to a wood near Kiudr
 and stay there till after nightfall, when they make their way
 home, taking care not to be seen by anyone.

If the ring is given by one of the Kuudrol it becomes the
 property of the men of the other *kudr*, but as its value is
 very small, only from four annas to two rupees, it is not
 divided, but is usually taken by the man of the *kudr* who
 takes the chief part in the ceremony.

The ceremony as described above resembles those of
irnörtiti and *tuninörtiti*, in that the offering is given by a
 man of one division of the clan to the members of the other
 division.

Pilinörtiti may also be undertaken by a man as an atone-
 ment for wrong-doing, and in the only case of the kind of
 which I know, the wrong-doer, although he belonged to the
 Kārs clan of the Tartharol, had to make the offering to
 Kiudr. In this case there was no question of the ring passing
 from one *kudr* to another, and it probably became the
 property of the man connected with Kiudr who took the
 chief part in conducting the ceremony.

123 Various unfortunate events which occurred during my visit
 753 to the Todas illustrate very well the working of the regula-
 777 tions which have been described in this chapter. One of
 these misfortunes befell Kutadri, who went with me to visit
 the Kundahs, the headquarters of the Pan clan. Mr.

the Todas in general were to give buffaloes to the *ti* dairies. When I was first told about these offerings, I was inclined to regard them in general as punishments and to treat them as if they were social regulations. With further knowledge it seemed clear that they were distinctly of a religious nature, and were really sin offerings designed to propitiate the gods and bring about the removal of misfortunes which had come upon the offenders. I have therefore described these offerings in the same chapter as the ceremony which is clearly a sacrifice.

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The variety of the *irnörtiti* ceremony in which a buffalo is given to the *ti* dairy is that which approaches most nearly to a sacrifice; the offered animal is not killed, but in going to the sacred herd of the *ti*, it may clearly be regarded as devoted to the service of the gods. The ceremony of *pilinörtiti* to the sacred dairy of Kiudr is again an example of an offering to a higher power in those cases in which the ring is given by a man of another clan so that the mechanism of the *kudr* does not come into play.

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These clear examples of offerings to gods or sacred places are, however, very closely related to the other cases in which offerings simply pass from one division of the clan to another. It seems that we have in these offerings a good example of something which is midway between a social regulation of the nature of punishment and a definitely religious rite of propitiation of higher powers.

There are two chief possibilities. The idea of offering to a higher power may be primary, and the ceremonies of *irnörtiti*, &c., in which the property merely passes from one division of the clan to the other may be secondary modifications to keep property within the clan. On the other hand, the mechanism of the *kudr* may be primary, and *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairy and *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr may be religious developments of what was originally a social regulation.

I have no information which enables me to say that one of the two possibilities is more probable than the other. The solution probably depends on the much larger question, whether the Todas are people whose religious system has developed out of the state of many primitive people where

782 social regulations exist without anything which can clearly
783 be called a religious sanction, or whether they are a people
688 whose religious system has degenerated from one higher than
that they now possess.

618 If the former supposition is correct, it is probable that the
796 religious sanction has been added to the system of social
punishment, which seems to be all which clearly exists in the
offerings when these are kept within the clan. If the latter
supposition is correct, it seems more likely that the whole
mechanism of the *kudr* is a device by which offerings which
should be made to a higher power may remain the property
of the clan.

The fact that the giving of the buffalo or other offering is
accompanied by prayer and the various restrictions of a more
or less religious nature which accompany the ceremonial
show that at the present time the ceremony has in all cases
a very definitely religious character, but it is quite possible to
regard these features in two ways, either as accretions to a
system of social punishment or as vestiges of what was once
a purely religious sacrifice in which the offerings were given
to the gods.

843 been milked by any one else since the time it last calved. The Melgars man places the milk in front of the hut where the woman usually lives, and then goes away, and the milk is taken by the people of the village. In the evening, after the day's work is over and the buffaloes are shut up for the night, a woman is chosen who has had no contact with the secluded woman, and she takes the milk drawn by the Melgars man to the *pushars*, together with the leaves of the kind called *parsers*. She pours out the milk three times into these leaves and gives to the pregnant woman to drink. The latter has previously bathed and put on a new mantle, and after drinking she returns to the ordinary hut and may resume her household work.

[618] The milking is done by a Melgars man for all the Tarthar clans except that of Kwòrdroni, where the buffalo is milked by a man of that clan. I do not know why this clan forms an exception to the general rule, but Kwòrdroni is one of the most remote Toda villages, and it is possible¹ that the difficulty of getting a Melgars man to come to them has led the people to do this part of the ceremony themselves.

For fifteen days after leaving the seclusion-hut, the woman must drink buttermilk procured from a Melgars dairy, and must take food called *peritòr*,² viz., grain or rice which has been cooked in Melgars buttermilk. At the end of the fifteen days she gives up taking the *peritòr*, but continues to drink Melgars buttermilk for another fifteen days.

For a woman of the Teivaliol, the ceremony of *urvatpimi* is much more simple. No *pūlpali* is made, and the husband fetches two pieces of reed only, which are called *ertatpun*. They are half filled with water, which is poured from one over the back of a calf into the other as in the Tarthar ceremony, and the woman drinks in the same way, but this is immediately followed by the hand-burning, and the rite with the two sticks and the invocation of Pirn and Piri is entirely omitted.

¹ The fact that the people of Melgars and Kwòrdroni are not allowed to intermarry suggests, however, that there is some relation between these clans which is the cause of the exception.

² This may possibly be a corruption of *peritòr*.

234 first funeral and keep it there till the funeral ceremonies are
764 completed.

778 Among the Teivaliol the Piedrol are the only clan to
possess a *mani*, which is called Kerâni. It is kept in a
wood or *shola* near the funeral place and lies in an earthen-
ware pot buried in the ground. At the funeral of a Piedr
man the bell is hung on the neck of a buffalo belonging to
the *kudeipir* (the special name for the *pasthir* of this clan).
It is dug up by the Teivali *palikartpol* and given by him to a
Nòdrs man, who ties it on the neck of the buffalo. The
Nòdrs man chosen for this office must bathe on the morning
of this day and must go without food till after the funeral.

234 Just before the buffalo is killed butter is smeared on the back
764 of the animal, on the horns and on the part of the head
618 between the horns. This should be done by a man of the
same clan as the dead person.

The killing of the buffalo is called *Arkipti*. It is done by
striking the animal on the head with the back of an axe
(*masth*). The animal is usually killed by one blow, though in
some cases more are necessary. The *wursulir* are killed by
the *wursol* and the ordinary buffaloes by men of the same
division as the deceased, but of a different clan. Certain
clans appear to have a prescriptive right to kill the buffalo;
thus, among the Teivaliol, a Kuudr man kills at the funerals
of members of all other clans, while at the funeral of a Kuudr
man a member of one of the other clans performs this function.
Among the Tartharol, the members of the Nòdrs and Kars
clans appear to occupy the most privileged position, but the
relations are more complicated than among the Teivaliol.
At a Kars funeral the ordinary buffalo is killed by a man of
Nòdrs, Taradr or Pan. At a funeral of a member of any of these
three clans, a Kars man kills. At funerals in other clans, the
buffalo is usually killed by men either of Kars or Nòdrs, but
in the case of a Kwòdrdoni funeral, it seemed that the killing
might also be done by a man of Päm or Nidrsi. Each
buffalo is killed at the appointed stone or post, and the *teiks*
at which the *wursulir* are killed is at some distance from the
funeral hut, and a woman is not allowed to approach the spot
lest she should see the sacred bell.

764 form a confused mass of struggling people, some crying
 765 forehead to forehead, others saluting head to foot, while others
 576 would be struggling through the mass to seek partners with
 whom to mourn (Fig. 55).

THE CLOTH-GIVING CEREMONY

764 During or after the lamentation a ceremony is performed
 602 which is known as *kachütthti*¹ (*kach*, cloth, *ütthti* or *ütiti*, he



FIG. 55—THE MOURNERS ROUND THE BODY.

puts). The essential feature of this ceremony is that a cloth is given by a near relative of the dead person to those who have married into his family, and the cloth is placed on the dead body by the wives of those to whom it is given. This ceremony takes place at the funerals of both sexes and for members of all clans. It is an inconspicuous ceremony, and with one exception² has escaped the observation of all those who have previously witnessed and recorded the procedure of

¹ This ceremony is also called *kachpätchpimi*.

² Natesa Sastri, *Madras Mail*, Aug. 28th, 1894.

Toda funerals. It takes place in the middle of a crowd, who gather round the corpse possibly while the lamentation is still going on or while other ceremonies are in progress. In the first funeral I witnessed the ceremony took place while dancing was going on, and I missed it entirely, though I was told afterwards that it had taken place as usual, and was able to obtain the names of the chief actors. 764
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In the ceremony of *kachiitthti*, a man belonging to the clan of the deceased gives a cloth to one of his *paiol*, or brothers-in-law. The latter gives the cloth to his wife or wife's sister, or to some woman whom he would be allowed to marry, and the woman places the cloth on the corpse. The man who originally gave the cloth then takes it from the body and gives it to another *paiol*, and the ceremony is repeated till the cloth has been given to all the *paiol* present.

The man who gives the cloth should belong to the same clan as the dead person. At the funeral of a male, the proper person is the father of the deceased, if he is alive, or some other elder of the clan. At the funeral of a woman, a man of the clan of the woman's husband is chosen. Thus, at the funeral of Kiuneimi (3 and 28), a widow of Kanòdrs, the cloth was given by Neratkutan (28), who was of the same family as the husbands of the dead woman and the eldest representative of their generation. At the funeral of Sinerani (52), the cloth was given by Tebkudr (68), who was the younger brother of the father of Keinba, the husband of the dead child.

The men called *paiol*, to whom the cloth is given, seem to include all those who have married women of the same clan as the giver of the cloth. Thus, at the funeral of Kiuneimi the cloth was given to Pepob (44) of Melgars, and to Nelkush and Tevò (3) of Nòdrs, who had all married women of Kanòdrs.

At the funeral of Sinerani, the cloth was given to Kuriolv (52), who was the father of the dead child, not, however, for this reason, but because he was the husband of Sintharap, Tebkudr's sister. At this funeral the only other man to whom the cloth was given was Piliag (52), who received it in the place of his brother, Piliar (52), who was not present. The latter, like Kuriolv, was the brother-in-law of Tebkudr (68).

764 If there is no *paiol* present the cloth may be given to a *matchuni*,¹
 602 and this may also happen even when *paiol* are present.
 618 Thus at one funeral at which I was present, the *marvainol-*
kedr of Pursevan (53), the cloth was given by Piliar (52)
 to Teikudr (63), his *matchuni*. Piliar was the son of
 Mutevan and Teikudr was the son of Kavani, the sister of
 Mutevan.

If neither *paiol* nor *matchuni* be present, it was said that
 the cloth might be given to a brother, *i.e.*, a man of the same
 clan, but this probably never happens and the statement is
 possibly an error.

The man who receives the cloth hands it to his wife,
 if she is present; if she is not present, he may put it on the
 corpse himself, and I saw this done more than once. On one
 occasion a man gave it to a woman who was not his wife, but
 in this case he was acting as a substitute for the husband of
 the woman.

This ceremony is one in which a man of the same clan
 as the deceased person gives a cloth to a man who has married
 into his family. The latter hands on the cloth to his wife,
 who was, before her marriage, of the same clan as the giver of
 the cloth, and it is this woman who places the cloth on the
 dead body.

764 The father of each woman who places the cloth on the
 767 body receives a fee of one rupee called *kachkars*, or cloth-
 437 rupee, but the sum is not paid till the woman has attended
 twenty funerals. An account is kept and twenty rupees are
 paid when the number is completed. The money is paid by
 the husband of the woman.

In the ceremony of *kachiitthti*, the men who have married
 into the family of the dead person have to perform this
 ceremony and have to pay a fee to the family of the dead
 person. As we shall see later, the chief mourner at a funeral
 should receive a buffalo from each of his sons-in-law, and we
 see here that this tribute is supplemented by an addition to
 the account kept of the times the cloth is given. The cloth-
 764 giving ceremony involves a payment to the family of the dead

¹ The *matchuni* of a person is the child of his mother's brother, or of his father's
 sister (see Chapter XXI).

765 they must leave it and live elsewhere till the second funeral is over.

[196] The term *kedr* is not only applied to the relics of the dead person, but also to the period between the two funerals, or rather the people say, "There is *kedr* in his family," or "So and so, or such and such a clan, has *kedr*," so that the same word is used for the funeral, for the body of a dead person, for the relics, and for the condition of persons or clans while funeral ceremonies are uncompleted.

764 All those who go near the corpse at a Teivali funeral
783 become *ichchiloivichi*, usually abbreviated to *ichchil*, and the same is true of anyone who goes to a Teivali village where the relics are being kept. The whole family in which the death has occurred is spoken of as being *ichchil*. If anyone wishes to attend a funeral and yet avoid becoming *ichchil*, he must sit at some distance and take no part in the funeral proceedings. At several funerals I have seen people sitting apart from the rest in order that they might not incur the disabilities associated with the condition of *ichchil*, the chief of which is that it is forbidden to approach or salute a *palol*.

A person who has incurred *ichchil* remains so till the next new moon. Those in the family of the dead person remain *ichchil* till the new moon after the *marvainolkedr*, owing to the fact that between the two funerals they probably either live at or visit the village where the relics are kept.

The condition of *ichchil* arising from attendance at a funeral is regarded as of the same nature as that incurred by a visit to the seclusion-hut after childbirth.

764 Both Teivaliol and Tartharol may become *ichchil* at a
783 funeral of one of the Teivaliol, but there is no *ichchil* due to attendance at a Tarthar funeral. All those who throw
616 earth at a Tarthar funeral, however, are called *pushhut*, and
618 incur the same disability as those who are *ichchil*—i.e., they may not approach or salute a *palol*.

Melgars people incur the same disabilities as other Tartharol, and it is probably for them that the restrictions are of most importance, for they lose their special privileges as *mōrol* while they are in the condition of *ichchil* or *pushhut*.

765 During the condition called '*kedr*,' all the men of the

person, and if two or more funerals are held simultaneously it gives an appearance of the olden times. So far as I could ascertain, however, the funerals of two or more people only take place together when they belong to the same clan. 765
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In some cases, however, the funeral places of two or more clans are very near one another. In such a case there might be a certain amount of combination of the different ceremonies, but some of the rites would be carried out at different spots for each clan. Something of this kind appears to have happened at the funeral ceremonies recorded by Mr. Thurston (*Bull. i.*, p. 176). Similarly the *marvainolke* of a man or woman of the same clan may be held simultaneously owing to the fact that the funeral places for the two sexes are usually close to one another. The buffaloes would, however, be killed at different places, and the remains would not be burnt and buried at the same *asaram*. 765
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Owing to the custom of having the *marvainolke* of several people simultaneously, it has often been supposed that the Todas have a kind of anniversary ceremony for all those who have died during the year, but there is no doubt that this is wrong. There was a large *marvainolke* soon after I left the hills (in January, 1903), but it was a ceremony for two women only, Narskuti (63 and 56), and Tersveli (63 and 52), both belonging to the Kuudrol, and it was held at Kurkalmut, the proper funeral place for the women of Kuudr. It is quite possible that owing to the restrictions on the slaughter of buffaloes it may become more and more the custom to hold several *marvainolke* simultaneously, and that this custom may develop into an anniversary ceremony. This could only come about, however, by throwing over the custom that the funerals of each clan should be held at a definitely appointed place, and there is no doubt that this has not yet happened. 765

At the second funeral ceremony the relics are placed in a special hut, and at a man's funeral the hut has the same name as at the *etvainolke*, and apparently it may sometimes happen that the same hut is used at both ceremonies. The second funeral is not always held, however, at the same place 349
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for nearly all the other days of the week put together. It is 527
also the most frequent day for the funerals of males, and it 764
seemed to me that whenever it was possible this day was 796
chosen.

Several clans, however, have Sunday as the *madnol*, and it 527
the laws of this day are observed ceremonies of which feasts 796
form a part could not be performed on this day in these clans;
thus, though I have no definite information on the point, I 621
have no doubt that the *irpatvusthi* ceremony could not be 618
performed.

It so happens that the clans which have Sunday as their
madnol or *palinol* are Pan, Kanòdrs, Pām, Kwòdrdoni, and
Pedrkars, all clans seated in outlying parts of the hills about
which my information is less complete than in other cases.
None of the larger and more important central clans about
whose customs I obtained the fullest information had either
madnol or *palinol* on a Sunday, and I have very little doubt
that in those clans which have Sunday as a *madnol*, ceremonies,
at any rate of a festive nature, would not be performed on
this day. There is little doubt that the great prominence of
Sunday as a feast day would have come out less strongly if
my information about the outlying clans had been more
complete.

I must leave this point uncertain, but I have little doubt
that with fuller information about the customs of different
clans we should find that the choice of days for ceremonies is
chiefly, if not entirely, determined by the necessity of holding
these on some day other than the *madnol* or *palinol*.

At the same time, there can be no doubt that Sunday is
one of the days appointed for a festival or ceremony very fre-
quently, and this is especially the case at the *ti*, the procedure
of which is to a large extent uninfluenced by considerations
concerned with the *madnol* and *palinol*. Even here, however,
these days are not altogether without influence, for certain
ceremonial days at the *ti* are feast days for the clan to which
the *ti* belongs, and this would make it necessary that the
ceremonies should not be held on the *madnol* of the clan.
Certain days were said to be feast-days throughout the whole
Toda community, but I have no knowledge as to how these

527 days would be kept by those clans on whose *madnol* they
might fall.

796 Several previous writers, when recording the choice of
621 certain days for the funeral ceremonies, have ascribed to the
● 618 Todas a belief in lucky and unlucky days, in days of good
or evil omen. One man, when telling me that Sunday,
777 Wednesday, and Saturday were days on which the *irpalvusthi*
ceremony might be performed at the *tarvali*, referred to them
as lucky days.

I think it is extremely doubtful whether the Toda in general
has any such belief, and if he has, it is probable that the
idea is a recent importation borrowed from the Hindus, among
whom the belief in lucky or unlucky days is of course
very prevalent. The distinction among the Todas is rather
into feast and fast days, using the latter term in a wide
sense.

It is possible that the institutions of *madnol* and *palinol*
have grown out of the belief in unlucky days; that certain
things were not done on these days because they were unlucky
days, and that so there came into existence a code of rules
prescribing what might and what might not be done.

The chief difficulty in the way of this view is the fact that
the different clans of the Todas have different sacred days.
One would expect lucky and unlucky days to be the same for
the whole community. The sacred days place very definite
restrictions on the intercourse between different clans, and this
inconvenience must be increased by the fact that the different
clans have different *madnol*, and there is no obvious reason
why this difference in the choice of sacred days should have
come about.

The distinction between *madnol* and *palinol* is, again, one
which can hardly have grown out of the belief in unlucky
days, though perhaps, given a village day, it is not an
unnatural step for the Todas to have decided that they would
have a dairy day also.

527 Whatever the origin of the laws regulating Toda custom in
this respect, I think there is little doubt that when at the
777 present time a given act is done or not done on a given day,
the action is not based on a belief in lucky or unlucky days,

the end of this chapter, may be regarded as a recognised form of marriage, but it differs from the orthodox form in that the children of the union belong to the division of the mother. They do not, however, belong to her clan, but to that of her legal husband. Similarly, the same kind of connexion may be formed between a Tarthar man and a Teivali woman, but in this case the woman is not allowed to live at the village of the *mokhtodvaiol*, who may either visit her occasionally or go to live at her village.

It has already been mentioned that each of the two divisions of the Toda community is divided into a number of septs or clans, and these are definite exogamous groups. No man or woman may marry a member of his or her own clan, but must marry into another clan. This restriction applies even to the members of clans which are known to have separated from one another in recent times. Thus, among the Tartharol certain members of the Melgarsol separated from the main group, and their descendants have formed a separate group or groups known as the Kidmadol and Karshol (see p. 664), but although the separation took place many years ago there still remains a definite prohibition against a marriage of members of these clans with the Melgars people. The clans of Pedrkars and Kulhem among the Teivaliol are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but here the separation seems to have occurred so long ago that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage.

In the whole of the genealogical record given in the tables at the end of the volume there is not a single case in which marriage has occurred between two members of the same clan.

Among many races at or below the stage of culture of the Todas prohibition of marriage within the clan is usually accompanied by prohibition of sexual intercourse, and such intercourse is regarded as incest and often as the greatest of crimes. It is doubtful whether there is any such strict prohibition among the Todas. In the qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* known as *tesherst*, it is ordained that the woman who takes part in the ceremony shall be one who has never had intercourse with one of her own clan, and I was told that it was far from easy to find such a woman. The

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835 fact, however, that this restriction should exist in connexion with a ceremony suggests that even to the Todas there is something reprehensible in intercourse between man and woman of the same clan (see also p. 530).

582 There are certain special prohibitions against marriage between members of certain clans. Among the Tartharol the Panol are not allowed to marry the Kanòdrsol, a prohibition said to be due to the murder of Parden by Kwoten, and it is said that since that day no marriage has ever taken place between the clans of the two men. In the genealogical record there is no case in which these two clans have intermarried.

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I was also told that the people of Melgars and Kwòdrdoni might not intermarry, but there are three examples of such marriages in the genealogies. I could not obtain any reason for the restriction, and the information is probably incorrect. The restrictions on marriage between the people of Melgars and those of Kidmad and Karsh have already been considered.

Among the Teivaliol there are also prohibitions against intermarriage between certain clans. The people of Piedr may not marry those of Kusharf. Judging from the genealogical record, the prohibition is not strictly followed, for three such marriages have taken place in recent times. In one of these cases, however, in which a Piedr man married a Kusharf woman, the woman soon became seriously ill, and the marriage was annulled. I could obtain no reason for the prohibition of marriage between these two clans. Marriage was also prohibited between the Piedrol and the Pedrkarsol, this being due to a comparatively recent quarrel between members of the two clans, of which an account is given in Chapter XXVIII.

I have analysed the genealogical records with the view of ascertaining whether certain clans intermarry with any special frequency. Among the Tartharol, I find that the people of Nòdrs marry most frequently those of Kars and Taradr. The Karsol, the largest of the Tarthar clans, distribute their marriages widely over the whole Tarthar division. The Panol chiefly marry with Kars and Melgars.

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The Taradrol have married most often with Nòdrs, Kars and Melgars. Keradr, a very small clan, shows no special predilection. The people of Kanòdrs have intermarried most often with Kwòdrdoni, Päm, Kars and Melgars. The people of Kwòdrdoni marry most often people of Kanòdrs, Kars and Nidrsi. The Pämol have married chiefly with Kanòdrs, Kars and Melgars. Most of the Nidrsi marriages have been with Kars. The Melgarsol have married in fairly equal proportions people of Nòdrs, Kars, Taradr and Päm.

These facts are interesting in that they show that there is a tendency for the three clans of Nòdrs, Kars and Taradr to intermarry. These are not only the most important Tarthar clans, but they occupy the same district of the hills, in the centre and towards the north and north-west. Similarly, the clans of Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni and Päm, situated towards the north-east and east, show a distinct tendency to intermarry. Further, the Melgarsol, who form a special group standing somewhat apart from the rest, distribute their marriages fairly equally, but have often married with Päm, a clan seated near them geographically.

The analysis of the genealogies shows that the geographical distribution of the Tartharol on the hills has had a definite influence on the intermarriage of the different clans.

Among the Teivaliol, intermarriage has been greatly influenced by the enormous size of the Kuudrol as compared with the other clans of the division. In order to marry outside their own clan, the people of Kuudr have married nearly all the available members of the other clans of the Teivaliol, leaving very few to intermarry with one another. Thus the genealogies record 161 marriages between Kuudrol and members of the other five Teivali clans, leaving only sixteen marriages between the members of those five clans. Owing to the enormous development of one clan, the Teivali division has almost come to be in the position of a community with a dual marrying organisation in which every member of one group must marry a member of the other group, but there is no reason whatever to think that this is due to any other reason than the excessive development of one clan in numbers.

582 On studying the marriages in detail it is found that the
618 Kuudrol have married members of the Piedr clan most frequently, but this is chiefly because the Piedrol stand second to the Kuudrol in point of numbers, although it is also furthered by the restriction in marriage between Piedr and Kusharf. The marriages of the Kuudrol with other clans seem to be determined more by the numbers available than by any predilection for special clans.

Both Pedrkars and Kulhem are said to be offshoots of the Kuudrol, but apparently the separation is so remote that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage. It is possible that the necessity of providing spouses for the Kuudrol has tended to break down a restriction which probably once existed.

582 The Todas have never married people outside their own
621 community, and a strong prejudice against such marriages still exists. This may be illustrated by two recent cases.

A woman, married in the usual way, was divorced by her husband because she became ill. She returned to her own home, where she was visited by a Tamil blacksmith. The latter was very anxious to marry the woman and on one occasion took her away to the plains, but she was followed by her relatives and brought back to her home. Later she married two Toda brothers and was taken by them to their village, but she was followed by the blacksmith, who brought her back to the village of her parents. The Todas seem to have no strong objection to her relations with the stranger so long as she remains among themselves.

In the other case a woman about twelve years ago was visited by a rich Mohammedan who gave money to her husbands, and it was said also that he bribed the chief Toda people, *i.e.*, the members of the council. The Mohammedan wished very much to marry the woman and for a sum of money the Todas consented. After the woman had lived for a few days in the bazaar with her new husband, her relatives came and took her away, and I was told that the Mohammedan took the loss so much to heart that he died of grief, but my informants were doubtful whether his grief was due to the loss of his wife or whether it was because

he had impoverished himself by the bribes which he had given. Here again the people appear to have had no objection to the relations of the woman with the Moham-
medan so long as she remained in the community.

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

The members of his own clan are not the only kin whom a man is not allowed to marry. The Todas have a general term, *pūliol*, for those relatives whose intermarriage is prohibited. The term is applied by a man not only to the women whom he may not marry, but also to the families in general into which he may not marry; thus a man may speak of other men as his *pūliol*, meaning by this that he may not marry their sisters. This, however, is only a loose way of using the word, and, putting on one side this sense in which the word may be used, the following are the *pūliol* of a man:—

(i.) The daughters of his father's brothers, whom he would call *akka* or *enda*, according to age.

(ii.) The daughters of his mother's sisters, also *akka* or *enda*.

(iii.) The sisters of his father and conversely the daughters of his sisters, i.e., his *mumi* and his *mankugh*.

(iv.) The daughters of the sisters of his father's father, i.e., of the sisters of his *pian*.

The relatives under the first head will be members of the same clan as the man, and the prohibition of marriage between *pūliol* under this head may be regarded as a restriction dependent on either clanship or kinship.

There seemed to be no doubt, however, that in connexion with marriage, a man always thought of these relatives as *pūliol*, a term which denotes certain kin, to whatever clan they may belong. So far as I could ascertain, if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one, of his *pūliol*, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his *pūliol* included all the people of his own clan.

If I am right in this, it means that it is the bond of blood-

382 kinship which a Toda has chiefly in his mind when he
 601 considers whether he may or may not marry a given woman.
 618 He has not two kinds of prohibited affinity, one depending on
 clan relations, and another on relations of blood-kinship, but
 he has only one kind of prohibited affinity, to which he gives
 the general term *piiliol*, including certain kin through the
 father and certain kin through the mother, and there is no
 evidence that he considers the bond of kinship in one case as
 different from the other as regards restriction on marriage.

The fact that the Toda includes all those kin whom he may
 not marry under one general term, and that the kin in question
 include members both of his own and other clans, goes to show
 that the Todas recognise the blood-kinship as the restrictive
 agency rather than the bond produced by membership of the
 same clan.

The analysis of the genealogical record has shown that
 these restrictions on marriage are enforced. I have already
 stated that the genealogies show no single case in which
 marriage has occurred between members of the same clan. *i.e.*,
 between *piiliol* who come under the first head in the list
 given above.

I have also failed to find a single case in which marriage
 has taken place between the children of two own sisters, or of
 marriage between the children of two women who would call
 each other "sister" whose names occur in the same genea-
 logical table. Thus I have found no case in which a marriage
 has taken place between the children of two women so closely
 related to one another as Punzueleimi and Nasturs, of Table
 3, these women being first cousins according to our system of
 kinship.

It would be a prolonged task to ascertain whether marriage
 ever takes place among the Tartharol between the children
 of two clan-sisters in the widest sense, and I do not know
 whether such marriage may not sometimes occur.

Among the Teivaliol marriages between clan-sisters even
 in the widest sense must be very rare owing to the fact that
 nearly all marriages take place between people of Kuudr on
 the one hand and members of the five other Teivali clans
 on the other. Since in most cases two women of any one

of these five clans marry men of Kuudr, marriage between their children would be restricted under the first prohibition, and similarly the children of two Kuudr women could only intermarry in those cases in which members of the other five clans have married one another. Among the Teivaliol, I do not believe that marriages take place between the children of sisters in the widest sense, and I have little doubt that they are very exceptional among the Tartharol.

There is no case in the genealogies in which the third restriction has been broken, in which a man has married his father's sister or his sister's daughter, his *mumi* or his *mankugh*.

There is at least one case in the genealogies in which there has been an infringement of the fourth restriction given on page 509. The marriage of Nargudr (62) with Tolveli (58) is an example of the marriage of a man with the daughter of his grandfather's sister. I believe that this restriction is part of a wider regulation. Using Toda terms of kinship the law would run: a person must not marry the child of his *matchuni*. The marriage of a man with the daughter of his grandfather's sister, such as that of Nargudr with Tolveli, would be an infringement of this law. I have only found one other case in the genealogies in which this law would have been broken, i.e., in the marriage of Teitnir (52) and Tersveli (63). Tersveli's father, Teikudr, is the son of Kavani, the sister of Pareivan, Teitnir's father. Teikudr is therefore the *matchuni* of Teitnir, who has married his daughter.

I was told that though a man might not marry the daughter of his sister, he might marry the children of this woman. I do not know of any such marriage and it is improbable that it would often come about, since it would involve the marriage of a woman with the brother of her grandfather. There is, however, at the present time an example of the marriage of a woman with her father's mother's brother, whom she would therefore call *pin*, or grandfather. This is the marriage of Kaners and his brother Kudrievan (63) with Edjog (56), the daughter of Tuliners, the son of the sister of the two men. I was told, however, that this marriage met with a good deal of disapproval among the Todas, but I could not learn that there was any definite prohibition against it.

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CHAPTER XXIII

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

618 IN this chapter I propose to bring together a number of matters connected with the social organisation; to consider the various sections into which the clan is divided for social or ceremonial purposes, the method of government, the laws concerning property and inheritance, and the position of women.

We have already seen that the primary fact in the social organisation of the Todas is the existence of two divisions, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol,¹ and the last chapter has shown that these divisions form endogamous groups, each of which is divided into a number of exogamous septs or clans. In some respects the clan is a definite unit in the social organisation, with a certain amount of power in regulating its own affairs, owning property and having in many cases social or religious usages peculiar to itself.

THE CLAN

618 The clan system is territorial, and I could discover no trace of its ever having been totemic. The clan owns a number
621 of villages and takes its name from the chief of these, the
361 *etudmad*. The connexion of the clan with the village is so generally recognised that in some cases in which the *etudmad* of the clan has disappeared, or is rarely visited, there is a tendency to name the clan after the chief village

¹ A full account of the two divisions and of their relation to one another will be given in Chapter XXIX.

still in use. Thus the people of Pirsurs have now become the Pämöl and the Kusharfol are often named after Umgas, a village in more frequent use than Kusharf. In general the villages belonging to a clan are situated in the same part of the hills, but a clan often possesses outlying villages at a considerable distance from the chief group. Sometimes these outlying villages are of comparatively recent origin, and in other cases they have been established on account of grazing necessities; thus several clans which have their chief seats near Ootacamund have villages in the Kundahs or in the district near Makurti Peak, which are visited in the dry season.

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The members of a clan have many common rights and privileges which bind them together, so that the clan-tie has a very real meaning. Property, however, as we shall see shortly, is largely centred in the family or the individual, and the Todas are in a state of social evolution in which the common bond constituted by membership of the clan has been largely replaced by the bond constituted by the family. They are in an intermediate condition between the state of society in which the clan is the social unit and that in which the family has taken this position.

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Nearly all who have previously written about the Todas have described them as divided into five clans—viz., the Peiki, Pekkan, Kenna, Todi, or Tothi, and Kuttan. These are the five divisions recognised by the Badagas, and a Badaga knows each Toda as belonging to one of them. The Todas are also perfectly acquainted with these divisions, and they could always say, if asked, to which of them a given village or a given man belonged. If a Toda is asked by a European to which clan or division he belongs, he will probably give one of these names, but I do not believe that they are in use among themselves, being reserved for their intercourse with Badagas and other Indian castes and with Europeans.

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The Peiki of the Badaga classification are the Teivaliol; the Pekkan correspond to the Melgarsol, the people of Kidmal and Karsh being also usually included in this group. Kenna is the Badaga name of the Karsol; the Todi or Tothi include two clans, the Nödrsol and the Panol, while the Kuttan com-

- 101 prise the remainder of the Tarthar clans—viz., those of Taradr,
 177 Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni, Päm and Nidrsi. I could
 618 obtain no direct information from the Todas which would
 616 explain why the Badaga classification should differ from their
 own. It is possible that it is an old classification of the Todas,
 but this is unlikely, since it is probable that the intercourse
 with the Badagas is not very ancient. It seems to me
 possible that it may have arisen out of the constitution of the
naim or council. This has four Toda representatives belong-
 ing to Kuadr (representing the Teivaliol), Kars, Nòdrs and
 Taradr. This would correspond to four of the Badaga
 divisions, and the fifth, the Melgarsol or Pekkan, would
 certainly be well known to the Badagas through their
 privileges as *mòrol*. It is possible that the Nòdrs representa-
 tive used also to represent Pan, and that the Taradr member
 represented the remaining clans, and, if so, it would point to
 there having been some old five-fold division of the kind
 believed in by the Badagas. It is quite clear that the five-fold
 division has no influence on the marriage regulations and
 Peiki, Todi and Kuttan all marry freely within their divisions.
 Except in connexion with the *naim*, I could learn of nothing
 which would show that the five-fold division has any social
 significance, and I know of no other way in which the Panol
 are associated with the Nòdrsol nor of any other way in which
 the six clans included in the Kuttan are associated together.
 It is possible that the five-fold division is connected with some
 customs regulating the payment of the Badaga tribute to the
 Todas, but I could learn nothing of such customs.
- 618 Each clan has divisions of two kinds called *kudr* and *pòlm*.
 The *kudr* is a division of ceremonial, the *pòlm* of practical,
 importance.

THE KUDR

Normally each clan has two *kudr* and two only, and, as we
 have seen in Chapter XIII, these divisions become of the
 greatest importance in connexion with the *irnòrtiti* ceremony,
 the whole regulation of which is dominated by the division
 into *kudr*. So far as I could ascertain, the *kudr* has now no

other significance, and I do not know whether the division is one which formerly possessed a social significance which it has now lost, so that the *kudr* only persists in ceremony, or whether it is a mode of division of the clan which has arisen purely in connexion with the *irnörtiti* and other allied ceremonies. 618

In one or two cases there was some doubt as to whether a certain division of the people was a clan or a *kudr*. This was especially the case with the Kwaradrol, now extinct, who were said by some of my informants to have been a clan, but it seemed clear that they only formed a *kudr* of the Keadrol, and were not properly a distinct clan. This is one case in which a *kudr* has a distinctive name, and another example occurs in the Panol where the *kudr* have separate names, one the Panol or Pandar, the other the Kuirsol or Peshteidimokh. In general, each *kudr* is named after its leading man, thus the two *kudr* of the Nödrsol are spoken of as the *kudr* of Mudrigeidi (1) and Kerkadr (2). The man who gives his name to the *kudr* is probably responsible for the general management of the ceremonies in which the *kudr* is concerned.

In a few cases a clan was said to have more than two *kudr*, but on cross-examination it turned out in each case that the statement was due to the fact that the clan contained a section which had no part, or only a subordinate part, in the *irnörtiti* ceremony and that this section might sometimes be spoken of as a *kudr*. Thus, in the Kuudr clan there are three sections, two which have reciprocal relations in the *irnörtiti* ceremony, and a third consisting of the family of Tövoniners (61) which lost certain privileges owing to a dispute many generations ago (see p. 675). This family could perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, but in such a case the buffalo would go to the members of the two other divisions and Tövoniners would receive nothing if either of the other divisions performed the ceremony. Another example of a clan said to have three *kudr* is that of Piedr, where the family of Nongarsivan (62) stands in the same relation to the other divisions as is the case with the family of Tövoniners in the Kuudrol. In this case Nongarsivan's exceptional position is

618 probably due to the fact that his family lives at Kavidi in the Wainad.

When a *kudr* becomes extinct a new division of the remaining *kudr* may take place, but, as a rule, this is not done till an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony arises. There are several cases in which one *kudr* of a clan has now been extinct for several years, but though the re-division is often a subject for discussion, it is not probable that a new *kudr* will be instituted till the necessity arises. Occasionally, however, it would seem that a new *kudr* may be decided on apart from an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony, for about the time of my visit the people of Keadr, who had lost one *kudr* by the dying out of the Kwaradrol, decided that the family of Karem (69), of which the sole living representatives are three boys, should form a new *kudr*. I could not learn what had been the motives for the decision. Some unimportant clans which have arisen by fusion from other clans, such as those of Kidmad and Kulhem, have no *kudr*, and do not appear ever to have possessed these divisions.

THE PÖLM

The word *pölm* means 'portion,' and is the name of the section of the clan by means of which is regulated the sharing of any expenses which fall on the clan as a whole. Any expenses which the clan may incur as a whole are not equally divided among the individual members of the clan, but are equally divided among the *pölm*. The chief occasion on which such expenses arise is in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy.

When a clan owns a *ti* and a dairy of the *ti* needs to be rebuilt or repaired, the expense also falls on the clan, and is equally divided among the *pölm*, as in the case of the village dairy.

The outlay is equally divided among the *pölm*, however much they may vary in size. Thus in the Kars clan one *pölm* has sixteen adult male members, while another has only one, but this one man would contribute exactly the same amount as the other sixteen.

Occasionally a *pòlm* is so poor that it cannot pay its share, and in one such case at the present time the *pòlm*, in this case consisting of two boys only, has been incorporated into another. 618

The number of *pòlm* in a clan varies greatly, from ten in the case of Kars to one only in the Pedrkars clan. There is no definite relation between the *kudr* and the *pòlm* as regards numbers; thus, one *kudr* of a clan may consist of one *pòlm* only, when the other *kudr* is divided into many *pòlm*. When there is a great degree of inequality in the sizes of different *pòlm*, a redistribution may take place, and this is probably the more likely to happen the more influential are the members of the smaller *pòlm*.

I believe that redistribution in the case of both *pòlm* and *kudr* is usually decided by the members of the clan itself, but in cases of doubt it is probable that the general council may have a voice in the matter. [623]

Each *pòlm* has a headman and is spoken of as the *pòlm* of this man. He is responsible for collecting the amount due from it, but as the *pòlm* often consists of a number of brothers, who hold much of their property in common, the collection is not usually a matter of difficulty, and I never heard of any disputes arising from this source. [578]

The Todas recognise the existence of the family (*kudupel* or *kudubel*) within the clan, meaning by this a group of people bound together by near blood kinship. As a general rule, the family corresponds with the *pòlm*, but sometimes there may be more than one *pòlm* in the same family. It seemed to me that the term *kudupel* had not the same clear meaning as the *pòlm*. The family has no important function in the social organisation except in so far as it corresponds with the *pòlm*, but it is taken into account when the *pòlm* and *kudr* are readjusted. 618
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The term was chiefly used when the Todas were speaking of certain families as being noted in certain ways or as having certain privileges. Thus, some families are noted for their powers as sorcerers, and these are called *pilikudupel*; others are known as *manikudupel*, or chief families, whose members are important in government and can hold the office of

- 618 *monegar* and serve on the *naim*. Other families important in
 184 government whose members can serve on the *naim* or council
 554 are called *tinkaniputitth kudupel* or *tinkani kudupel* and
 463 *palutth kudupel*. The members of certain other families have
 certain duties of a lower order in connexion with the *naim*.
 They take messages and act generally as servants at the
 meetings, and the families with these functions are called
karòdiputipol kudupel, or servant families. They are also
 sometimes called *armanol* or palace people, because at one
 time the Rajah of Nelambur in the Wainad put his buffaloes
 into their charge.

LAWS OF DESCENT

- 611 Descent among the Todas is always reckoned in the male
 851 line. A man is always of the same clan as his father, if by
 his "father" we understand the man who has given the bow
 and arrow to his mother at the *pursùtpimi* ceremony. In
 the case of the offspring of a *mokhthoditi* union, there is
 at first sight an appearance of female descent. The child
 of a Teivali mother and a Tarthar father belongs to the
 Teivaliol and *vice versa*, but on further inquiry it is found
 that the child does not belong to his mother's clan, but to
 that of her legal husband. The child of a Teivali mother in
 such a case is not Teivali because his mother is of this
 division, but because a Teivali man only is allowed to
 perform the *pursùtpimi* ceremony with a Teivali woman and
 become the legal father of her child. If, in such a case, the
pursùtpimi ceremony had not been performed, the child would
 belong to the division and clan of neither father nor mother,
 but would be a *padmokh*, of no division and of no clan.¹ I
 did not definitely inquire into the point, but from my general
 knowledge of the position of such an individual, I have little
 doubt that he would not be allowed to perform the *pursùtpimi*
 ceremony, and could therefore never become the legal father
 of a child.

In this as in all cases the clan to which a child belongs

¹ Another name for a man of no clan is *pasuli*, but I do not know whether this
 is merely a synonym of *padmokh* or whether a man can lose the right of belonging
 to a clan for any other reason than that described above.

and even to have developed a system of male descent among their buffaloes such as exists among themselves. 234

The nature of what may be called the social regulations of the buffaloes shows that the Todas take little interest in the part played by the male in the process of mating, and, as we have seen, this lack of interest is almost as great among themselves. 611
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Side by side with the strictest regulation of marriage as a social institution, such great laxity prevails in regard to sexual relations that the Todas may almost be said to live in a condition of promiscuity, though, as I have endeavoured to show, the degree of promiscuity is in practice perhaps hardly as great as their statements would lead one to expect.

ADOPTION

It is clear that the custom of adoption of children is not practised by the Todas. They denied its existence emphatically, and I met with no instance which led me to suspect its presence in compiling the genealogies. 597

If a child is left an orphan, it is looked after by the people of its clan, but it is always clearly recognised that the child retains the father's property, and belongs to the *madol* and *pölm* of the father. 736
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There is, so far as I could ascertain, no religious custom which makes it necessary that a man should have children. The duties of a child at the funeral ceremonies can quite well be performed by some other member of the clan. 842
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There is a social reason which makes it inconvenient in some cases that a man should die without male issue. If a man is the only representative of his *kudr*, and has no children, the *kudr* will become extinct, and the clan will be put to the trouble of rearranging the families of which it is constituted. If such a man is childless he may take another wife in the hope of having a son to carry on the *kudr*, but the adoption of a child for the purpose is never thought of. A good case is that of the two brothers Mudrigeidi and Odrkurs in Table I. They are the last two representatives of one *kudr* of the Nödrsol. They have had two wives, one of whom has had a daughter and a boy who died, and in the

- 842 hope of having a son, one of the brothers had recently
 618 married a young girl, Obalidz, as his third wife, the others
 being still alive, though one had been taken by another man.

GOVERNMENT

- 623 The most important feature of Toda government is the
naim, or *noim*,¹ a council having a definite constitution. The
 627 *naim* proper has to do with the affairs of the Todas in general,
 and, in addition, more informal councils,² consisting of the
 chief members of a clan, may be held to settle matters arising
 within the clan. It seems, however, that the supreme *naim*
 may sometimes be called upon to settle the internal affairs
 of a clan.

- 623 The *naim* of the general body of Todas should have five
 177 members, or, if more than five members, they should be drawn
 from five sources. Four of these sources are the Tarthar
 clans of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr, and the Teivali clan of
 Kuudr. The fifth source is the Badaga village of Tuneri,
 from which a Badaga man may be sent to take part in the
naim. He is only called upon to sit, however, on special
 occasions; and in the many councils which I saw during my
 visit a Badaga was rarely present. He probably only sits, as
 a rule, when questions arise which involve the relations
 between the Todas and Badagas.

- 623 The Toda representatives should be drawn from certain
 families of their respective clans. The Kuudr representative
 should belong to the family known as the *manikudupel*, and
 the representatives of Kars, Nòdrs, and Taradr to the families
 known as *tinkanikudupel*. A few years ago the Toda re-
 presentatives were Kuriolv of Kuudr (52), Parkurs (8)
 and Piutolv (10) of Kars, Kudòdrsvan (3) of Nòdrs, and
 Ircheidi (20) of Taradr, though there was some question
 whether Ircheidi was on the *naim*, or whether his place had
 not been taken by Piutolv, the second Kars representative.
 All these men are at present living, but, with the exception of

¹ A meeting of the council is often spoken of as *kàtkàdriti*, "the assembly
 assembles," or *kàtpuniti*, "the assembly makes."

² It seemed clear that the term *naim* is also applied to these clan councils.

622 The earliest *monegar* whom the Todas remember is Teitchi or Teiti (52). He was succeeded by his fourth son, Mutevan, who is still alive. The two eldest sons had died before their father, and Persevan, the third son, was said to be weak-minded, and Mutevan was therefore chosen to succeed.

Mutevan is now a very old man, probably about eighty years of age, and his office was taken over some years ago by his eldest son, Ivievan. Though Ivievan is the *monegar* he is not the chief representative of his family on the *naim*, this position belonging to Kuriolv, the son of Pareivan and Persevan. Ivievan is helped in collecting the assessment by an assistant *monegar*, and till lately this place belonged to Parkurs of Kars.

177 It does not appear that the *monegar*ship is a real Toda office, but that the earliest *monegar* was appointed by Mr.

622 Sullivan, the first British official of the Nilgiris. The family,

554 however, to which the *monegar* belongs is called the *manikudupel*, which may mean the *monegar* family, but I could not discover definitely whether this title is older than the institution of the *monegar*ship. It is possible that Teitchi was one of the chief men of the *naim* when the Europeans first came to the hills and that he was therefore appointed as *monegar*.

It is quite clear that at the present time the *monegar*, Ivievan, is not the most important man among the Todas, but that the predominant position belongs to his cousin, Kuriolv, the representative of the family on the *naim*.

HEADMEN

618 Though it is very doubtful whether the institution of *monegar* is not an innovation, and whether the Todas as a whole have properly any true chief, it is fairly clear that the clan and its divisions have definite leaders.

Each clan has a headman or *etudol*; usually, it seemed to me, one who had come to the top by virtue of his character and ability. I did not learn how far his position was generally recognised nor by what means he was chosen. It was quite clear, however, that the leading man of a clan

might lose his position in old age or as the result of illness, and at the time of my visit there were several men who had been the heads of their clans but no longer occupied those positions.

Similarly, as we have seen, both *kudr* and *palm* have their leading men, who give their names to the divisions and are probably responsible for the conduct of their business.

PROPERTY

Among the Todas, property may be held by the clan, the family or the individual. I am not clear whether there is any case in which property is held to belong to the Todas as a whole, or to either of the two divisions. There were two villages, Padegar and Ki Perththo, said to be common property, so that any one might live at them. At the time of my visit both were occupied by Melgars people, and I could not satisfy myself as to what was meant by saying that they were common property.

In general, land, the dairies of the chief villages, and some buffaloes may be said to be the property of the clan. The house, and probably also some villages, are the property of a family, and most buffaloes, household goods and ornaments are the property of the individual.

Land.—The relation of the Todas to the land has been a much discussed theme, and for many years after the first settlement of the hills by Europeans it was a subject of controversy. The fact that the Badagas paid what seemed to be a tribute of grain to the Todas was held to show that the latter were regarded as the "lords of the soil," and the view was strongly upheld that they should be so regarded by the Indian Government. The other view taken of the matter was that permanent rights in the soil throughout India belong to the State. The controversy¹ was not settled till 1843, when it was decided that the Todas should have the privilege of pasturing their herds on the State lands on payment of a small tax. At the present time the Todas receive an annual

¹ For a full account of this controversy see the *Manual of the Nilagiri District*, by H. B. Grigg, Madras, 1880. See also Thurston, *Bull.* i. 182.

177 sum from the Government as compensation for land taken
421 from them in Ootacamund and elsewhere.

423 Although the Todas have thus had much difficulty with the
578 Government in relation to the ownership of land, it does not
seem that they have trouble in this matter among themselves,
and I heard of no disputes between members of different
clans or different villages about grazing rights.

In the account of the marriage dispute between Punog and
Nertiners (see p. 536) the former had evidently put many of
his buffaloes in the charge of his brother-in-law for grazing
purposes, but it was quite clear that no question of grazing
rights came into this dispute. The buffaloes only came into
the quarrel because Nertiners happened to have them in his
charge when the marriage dispute arose.

I did not ascertain definitely how grazing rights between
two clans or families are regulated, but I think it is quite
clear that there is no individual ownership in land.

234 Certain dairies, and probably all the chief villages (*etudmad*),
423 are regarded more or less as the property of the whole clan.
There probably never arises any real question of ownership,
618 but as regards the dairies, it was clear that any expenses
incurred in the repair or rebuilding of a dairy fall on the whole
clan, each *palu* of the clan contributing an equal share.¹

The buffalo herds of the *ti* are also regarded as the property
of the whole clan, but the rights of ownership are in these
cases very shadowy. It does not appear that the owning clan
derives any pecuniary benefit from its possession of the
herd, while, on the other hand, the possession involves con-
siderable expense, chiefly owing to certain feasts which have
to be provided, and these expenses are given as the reason
why certain of the sacred dairies are unoccupied. The people
of the owning clan have, it is true, the right of choosing the
palu, but as the choice is limited, and there is, in most cases,
little competition for the office, this is a very empty honour.

423 Houses. Each house belongs to a certain family. The
595 normal Toda family consists of a number of brothers with

[358] ¹ I am not clear on whom the expense of rebuilding and repairing a dairy would
fall when the dairy is situated at a village occupied by one family only, and used
exclusively for buffaloes which are the private property of that family.

153 In my psychological tests it certainly seemed to me the general intelligence of the women was very much lower than that of the men. Some of the younger women were as acute and intelligent as the men, but the older women seemed to me hopelessly stupid. They did not try to give their minds to the tasks I set them with anything approaching the keenness and interest shown by the men, and again and again I failed to obtain results of any value in tests which men understood readily.

[155] It seems probable that the intelligence of the two sexes is not appreciably different in youth, but that the social life of the women does nothing to develop this intelligence and everything to force its exercise into the narrowest channels.

[182] It might, I think, be expected that polyandry would be associated with a subordinate position of woman, and there can be no doubt that the Todas show the association of the two conditions.

618 When a woman marries she becomes of the same clan as her husband, and this is a matter of some importance in 764 connexion with religious and social ceremonial. Thus, in the funeral ceremonies of a woman, the choice of appropriate day and place, of the people who are to take part in the funeral rites and other features of the ceremonial are determined, not by the clan of the woman's father, but by that of her husband, and this even when the marriage itself forms part of the funeral ceremonies.

[391] While I was on the hills, the widow, Kiuneimi (3), who had been living with her father at Nòdrs, died. Her husbands 618 had belonged to Kanòdrs, and as a member of this clan she 766 should have been taken to its burning-ground. This was, however, so far from Nòdrs that it was decided not to go there, but to hold the funeral ceremonies near the place where she had died. The proper funeral place for Nòdrs women could not, however, be used, for she belonged to another clan, and the body was therefore taken to a village which was not a true funeral place, and so no laws were infringed.

The funeral of Sinerani (p. 391) is an excellent example which shows how all the details of a funeral ceremony are

dependent on the transference of a young girl to the clan of a boy who acts as husband to the corpse. By her marriage to Keinba, the dead girl became a member of the Keadrol, and her funeral should have been held at the burning-ground of this clan. Many of the features of the ceremonies were in accordance with this change of clan, and since all were not so, the various mishaps which occurred at the funeral were ascribed by the Todas to the departure from prescribed custom.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CLANS OF THE TODAS

IN this chapter I propose to give a short account of each of the Toda clans with any special features which characterise its ceremonial and social organisation. The chapter will consist largely of detail, much of which may be thought to have no great interest, but it seems desirable to put on record as full an account as possible of the condition of the people at the time of my visit. A certain amount of folklore will be included, those tales being given which are specially connected with the history of a clan.

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THE TARTHAR CLANS

NÖDRS

The people of Nödrs owe their special importance to their connexion with the goddess Teikirzi, who was the *nödrodchi*, or first ruler of the clan, and according to tradition bestowed certain special favours on her people. Chief among these is the possession of the Nödrs *ti*. This is undoubtedly the most sacred and important of the five *ti* institutions, and its herds are much larger than those of any other. The fact that the Nödrs people own this *ti* and have the power of appointing to the office of *palol* gives them great distinction in the eyes of the Todas, and this is emphasised when the *palol* is undergoing his ordination ceremonies, for several of these take place in villages of the Nödrsol. The preliminary ceremony for those who wish to become *palol*, which is called *tasherst*, is also usually performed at a Nödrs village.

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234 Another title to fame is the possession of the *poñ*, or conical dairy temple at Nòdrs, which is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiri Hills as the "Toda Cathedral." It is certainly not the most sacred of Toda dairies, but it is the most accessible of the few dairies of this kind now remaining.

618 The Nòdrsol are one of the clans represented in the *naim*. They now stand second among the Tarthar clans in point of numbers, having forty-three males and thirty females.¹ It has two *kudr*, one of which, consisting of the family given in the first of the genealogical tables, has now only two male members; as these have at present no son, it is possible that it may shortly become extinct. The other *kudr* has five *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Kerkadr (2), Kudòdrsvan (3), Teigudr (4), Mondothi (5), and Keitan (6). If any of the members of these five *pòlm* should perform the *irnòrtiti* ceremony, the buffalo would go to Mudrigeidi and Oòrkurs, while, if either of these men had to give a buffalo, its value would be divided among the other five *pòlm*. Kerkadr is regarded as the head of the second *kudr*.

618 The *madnol* of the Nòdrs people are Tuesday and Friday, and they hold the funerals of men on Sunday, and of women on Thursday. The special features of their funeral ceremonies are that the body of a man lies in the *tarvali* of Nòdrs for some days before the *etvainolkudr* and that a special bell (*man*) is used at male funerals which has to be brought from Odr. Male funerals are held at Nòdrs, and female funerals at Kulthpuli. The clan used also to have another funeral place close to the Paikara road, which is not now used.

621 The Nòdrsol have many villages, of which fourteen are still inhabited, and I obtained the names of five others now in ruins.

351 234 The following are the chief villages.

Nòdrs (Muttanadmand). In addition to the conical *poñ*, this village has the distinguishing feature of a long wall which passes between this dairy and the huts where the

¹ By this I mean that there are now living thirty females who were born members of the Nòdrsol, but since a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, most of these are now members of other clans. I give the numbers of each clan in this form because it brings out several features of interest in relation to the relative fertility of different clans, the proportions of the sexes, &c.

234 food when Teigudr (4) took his wife Uwer from Nertolvan
621 of Pan (16). On this occasion Nertolvan came to Tedshteiri
to receive nine buffaloes from Teigudr, and the number of
ovens corresponded with the number of the buffaloes.

Kudruakhum (Kudinagamand). The chief point of interest
about this village is that it is the place where the ceremony of
tesherst often takes place. It is an outlying village to the
west which I was unable to visit.

Perththo (Perattitalmand). This is a village which is
shared by two clans. The part occupied by the Nòdrsol is
called Meil Perththo, or Upper Perththo. The other part of
the village was said to be general property, but it is at
present occupied by Melgars people.

Kozhtudi or *Kozhteidi*. The special feature of this village
is that it has a *wursuli* in which everything has to be carried
out *kabhaditi*, i.e., the dairyman is not allowed to turn his
back to the contents of the dairy. This certainly points to
the village having been at one time of importance.

KARS

- 618 This is at present the largest of the Tarthar clans, having
621 sixty-seven male and fifty female members. It is represented
in the *naim*, and there was some reason to think that it
occupies a more important position in this body than the
other Tarthar clans. The family of Parkurs (8) is called
tinkanikudupel, ranking next to a *manikudupel*, and Parkurs
was till lately a second or assistant *monegar*.

There seems to be no doubt that the Karsol have always
been an important clan, and its members are often mentioned
in the stories, though they do not appear to have had any
legendary hero such as those of Melgars and Pan. Their
addrovlchi (ruler or presiding deity) is Kulinkars, now believed
to live on a hill near Makurti Peak. The Kars people possess
a *ti* which in importance and wealth is second only to that
of Nòdra.

- 618 Kars resembles Nòdrs in having two *kudr* differing greatly
in size. Kutadri is the head of one, which comprises all the
members of the family given in Table 7. It has two *pòlu*,
headed by Kutadri and Peithol. The other *kudr* has eight

padm, of which the chief men are Parkurs (8), Pidrvan (9)¹, Piutolvan (10), Kudrvas (11), Kutthurs (12), Mongudrvan (13), Kiunervan (14), and Keitazvan (15). Till recently there appear to have been only five *padm* in the Kars clan, each of which has lately been divided into two. There is a very marked disproportion in the number of members of some of these divisions; thus the *padm* of Parkurs has sixteen males in five more or less distinct families, while others have only three or four males. Nevertheless each of the latter would contribute the same amount towards joint expenses of the clan as the sixteen males of the *padm* of Parkurs.

The chief villages of the Karsol are in or near Ootacamund, and this clan formerly had several other villages on sites now occupied by modern buildings.

The following are the chief places:—

Kars (Kandalmand). This village is one of the best known of Toda villages, being just on the outskirts of Ootacamund. It is a very typical example of a Toda village; there is a small group of houses, with a large dairy, the *kudrpali* (Fig. 21), called *Tarziolv*, close to them; just above the houses on the rising ground is a smaller dairy, the *wur-suli* called *Karziolv*, shown in the background of Fig. 42 and partly shown in Figs. 23 and 44. Opposite the *kudrpali* are two raised circular mounds with flat tops called the *imudrikars* (seen in the foreground in Fig. 21), on which the body of a dead man is laid before being taken to the funeral hut at Taradrkirsi. Above the *kudrpali* is the hut for calves.

In the middle of the enclosure within which the village lies, is a row of stones (shown in Fig. 42) which are the *irnörtikars*, and in the ceremony of *irnörtiti* the calf is driven across these stones.

Behind the houses there is a small circular enclosure which is now used as a *tu* and is called *Althstu*. The entrance to this enclosure is shown in Fig. 29 just in front of the boy carrying the dairy vessels. Formerly there was a dairy of the conical kind within this circle, of which the name was *Isipok*. About five generations ago, this dairy still existed

¹ Pidrvan died soon after my visit.

Paikara, is one of the most outlying villages of the Karsol. There is a very small dairy here resembling the *merkalar* which serves both as *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, the former being in front, while the latter is behind, with the door on one side. The *wursuli* is so small that there can scarcely be room for a fully grown man to do the churning.

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Isharadr and *Peletkurr*. These are outlying villages of no special interest. The former was only built in the time of the grandfather of Parkurs (8), and has a dairy resembling that of Pakhalkudr.

Taradrkirsi (Kavaikkadmand). This is the funeral place for men of the Kars clan, and is also a *kalolmad*. There is a *kudrpali* with three rooms called *Paliven keirsi*, and a pen called *Tuoks*. There are two stones where the *wursulir* and *nashperthir* are killed, and close to them there is a spot by the side of a wood where earth is thrown at a funeral. There is a slight break in the edge of the wood here, and this is probably the position of an old pen which has been completely overgrown.

There is a long wall at this village passing near the dairy and the funeral stones, and then extending a long way towards the east. It resembles the Nòdrs wall, and these seem to be the only two examples of walls of this kind at Toda villages. The wall at Taradrkirsi is said to have been built by Kwoten, but it seems unlikely, for this hero had no special connexion with the Karsol.

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Several villages which have now wholly disappeared are still mentioned in the prayer which the Kars people use at the *arkunpithpini* ceremony. One of these, Tashtars, stood where the Masonic Hall at Ootacamund now stands. The site of another, Tùrskidt, is occupied by a private house. Two, Tùli and Keitaz, were situated on Elk Hill, and two others, Sing and Kurkars, were near Nasmiòdr.

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PAN

The Pan clan have their headquarters in the Kundahs and are often called the Medrol, or people of Medr, the Toda name for the Kundahs. The chief villages of this clan are in the

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- 618 Kundahs, but they are only visited during the dry season, and
621 for the greater part of the year the Panol live at the comparatively new village of Naters in the most thickly populated part of the hills. The legendary hero, Kwoten, belonged to Pan.

The clan is small, having now about twenty-seven male and nine female members. It is not represented on the *naim*, and in the Badaga grouping of the Todas this clan is joined with that of Nödrs.

The Panol have two *kudr*, and provide the only example among the Tartharol in which the *kudr* have special names. The formation of the *kudr* is said to have been due to Kwoten, who divided the people into Panol and Kuirsol, named after the two chief villages of the clan. The two divisions are also called Pandar and Peshteidimokh.

The Pandar or Panol have three *pölm*, headed by Timurvan (16), Todars (16), and Nörtiners (17). The Peshteidimokh or Kuirsol have two *pölm*, headed by Timners (18) and Imokhvan (19).

The *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* ceremonies are performed in front of the *wursuli* at Pan or Kuirsol. The spots on which the ceremonies take place are not marked by any stones, and the ceremonies are spoken of as *paliknörtiti*, i.e., "he gives to the dairy," though, as a matter of fact, the calf passes from the men of one *kudr* to the men of the other *kudr* as in other clans.

The *madnol* of Pan are said to be Sunday and Wednesday, and the funerals of men take place on Sunday or Tuesday, and those of women on Thursday or Saturday. It is probable that Tuesday is the proper day for the funerals of men, but that they are now sometimes held on Sunday.

- 621 The following are the chief villages of the Panol:—

234 *Pan* (Onnamand) is commonly known to Europeans as "One mand." It is a large village in the south-west corner of the Kundahs, with two houses of the long variety, with a door at each end and a partition in the middle. There is a *wursuli* called *Keinulv*, and a *kudrpali* called *Nersolv*, and outside the pen there is a stone called *mutchudakars*.

Kuirsol (Kolimand). This village is near Pan. It has a

wursuli and *kudrpali*, the former being called *Marsolu* and the latter *Keinulu*. Outside the pen, called *Tu matu*, there is a large stone called *keinkars*, and inside it there are two stones called *mutchudkars* and *pudrthkars*. I could learn little of the history or functions of these stones, but they were said to have been "played with" by Kwoten and Terkosh.

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Perg (Yeragimand) is a small village near Avalanche Bungalow and is an example of a *kalolmad*.

Naters (Natanerimand) is a large village near Governor Shola, where most of the Panol live for the greater part of the year. This village has a *wursuli* and *tarvali*, but nothing else of interest.

Near Avalanche Bungalow there is the site of a village called *Pathmars*. Little remains of it, but the fireplace of a hut can still be seen.

Kabudri (Tebbekudumand). This is the male funeral village of the Panol. Here there are two stones called *teiks* where the *wursulir* are killed, and they are reputed to have been set up by Kwoten; one, called *parsteiks*, is for the Panol, and the other, called *kirshsteiks*, for the Kuirsioi. Another place given as the male funeral place of Pan was Tim, where there is a three-roomed dairy of the same kind as that at Taradrkirsi, in the outermost room of which the body is placed. It is probable that Tim and Kabudri are two names for the same place.

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TARADR

All the villages of this clan are situated in the north-west corner of the hills and the clan appears to have no villages far removed from the *studmad*. The clan is a large one having now at least thirty-seven male and thirty-nine female members.

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The Taradrol appear to have in several ways a special position among the Tarthar clans. They possess the special institution of the *kugvali*, which, though resembling in some respects a *ti*, is situated by the other dairies of the village and is tended by dairymen belonging to the clan. The Taradrol are also unique in having their future world (*Amnòdr*) near Perithi.

618 The Taradrol are divided into two *kudr*, each of which has
234 three *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Ircheidi (20), Parkeidi (21), and Polgar (22); of the second, Paners (23), Irkiolv (24), and Kudeners (25). About the time of my visit the place of Ircheidi, who was ill, was taken by his son, Siriar.

The six *pòlm* of the clan take it in turn to look after the *kugvalir*, each having charge of the dairies and herd for a period of three years. Shortly before my visit, the charge had been taken over by the *pòlm* of Ircheidi and Siriar.

The following are the chief villages:—

621 Taradr (Tarnardmand). This is one of the most char-
234 acteristic Toda villages, situated near the road leading to the
764 Paikara falls. It is shown in Figs. 5 and 6, and has three dairies, situated at some distance from the dwelling-huts. The two dairies shown in Fig. 5 are the *tarvali* and *kugvali*, the former on the left-hand side and the latter on the right. The third dairy of the village is a *wursuli*, situated to the right of the *kugvali*.

Near the *kugvali* is a stone (shown in Fig. 24) at which the *wursulir* is killed at a Taradr funeral. The stone is called *piðrshtikars* after the name of the buffaloes (*piðrshtipir*). At a little distance from the three dairies are the remains of another *pali*, which was only used at the funeral of a male. This *pali*, like those at other funeral places had three rooms, and in the ruins at the time of my visit it was easy to make out the three divisions. When the occasion arises, the dairy is rebuilt on the day of the funeral, and the *tarpalikartmohk* takes the *mu* into the innermost room after purifying it with *tudr* bark. The body of the dead man is then laid in the outermost room and kept there till it is taken out after the slaughter of the buffaloes. If this temporary building is the representative of a former dairy with three rooms, it would seem that the village of Taradr once had four dairies.

621 Kudrmas (Kudimalmand). This is a *kalolmad* on the western side of the Paikara. The *kugvalir* were here during the greater part of my visit.

Telgudr (Telkodumand). This is another *kalolmad*.

Pushtar (Pattaraimand). This village is one at which the *tesherst* ceremony (see p. 154) is sometimes performed.

Kudimad (Kulimand). This is a large village near Taradr at which many of the people live, but it is not an important village ceremonially, having only one dairy, a *tarvali*.

Near Paikara there can still be seen the remains of a village called *Pevar* which was deserted because the family which lived there became extinct.

KERADR

This is one of the smallest of the Tarthar clans, all its members being included in Table 26. There are at present sixteen male and nine female members.

There is at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about three generations ago. As there has been no occasion for *irnörtiti*, no fresh division has been made. The *kudr* has two *pölm*, one headed by Paniolv, and the other by Teikner.

The chief village, Keradr (Kannagimand), is situated in the south-west part of the hills near the Teivali village of Keadr. Keradr is also the male funeral place of the clan and was not occupied at the time of my visit. At this time most of the Keradrol were living at Tovalkan, near Paikara, a recent village at which there is a dairy of the ordinary kind (*tarvali*). Near the houses there is a raised mound shown in Fig. 59, erected to mark the spot on which Keirevan (26) was killed by falling from a tree into which he had climbed to cut wood.

KANÖDRS

This is one of the outlying Toda clans, and its people were said to have been less influenced by the altered conditions on the hills than any other clan, but they seem nevertheless to have given up several of their institutions. The sacred *pok* is only occasionally occupied, and I am doubtful whether they can be said to be in a more untouched condition than several other clans. The people are often called the Kererol, but I could not find that there was any village of Kerer from which this name is derived, and it is possibly the name of a district of

618 the hills. The clan is distinguished by its possession of the
234 conical *poh* at Kanòdrs, and by the fact that many of the
adventures of Kwoto or Meilitars took place in the region it
inhabits. Although Kwoto was a Melgars man, he is regarded
as having a close connexion with the Kanòdrs people, and
various features of the ritual of the Kanòdrs *toh* are said to
be derived from him.

618 The clan is at present a small one, with a distinct majority
of females. In fact, it seems so usual for members of this
842 clan to have no children or only female children that there is
some likelihood that the Kanòdrsol may become extinct.
The present numbers are about thirteen males and twenty-
three females.

618 There was some doubt as to the number of *kudr*. I was
told that there are three, headed by Arsolv (27), Kineri (29),
and Pòlkab (30) respectively, but at an *irnòrtiti* ceremony
both Arsolv and Kineri would give to Pòlkab, while the
latter would give to both, so that it seems probable that
there are properly only two *kudr*, as in other clans. One of
these has only one *pòlm*, that of Pòlkab. The other has
three *pòlm*, headed by Arsolv, Neratkutan (28), and Kineri.

621 The following are the chief villages of the Kanòdrsol:—
Kanòdrs (Devarmand). This village now consists of the
poh only. There are still two *man* at this village, one of
which is called *Pùnkòghlag*, a name closely resembling the
name of the churning-stick at the *ti*. There are at present no
dwelling-huts at the place, nor any remains of such huts,
though it would appear from the legend of Kwoten that the
village was inhabited at one time.

Pishtwosh (Bikkapatimand). This is a large village
where most of the Kanòdrsol now live. The only dairy is in
ruins. Close to the village there are a number of flat stones
almost level with the ground (Fig. 71) which are called *Tudr*,
“the god way,” and are said to mark the spot where the
gods (*tu*) used to meet. Just above these is a large buffalo
pen, which is reputed not to have been made by man.
Whenever the gods went this way they used to deposit
pieces of dried buffalo-dung on this spot and these became
the stones of the *tu*.

Near the village is a forest hut, and opposite this are two stones called *pedrkars*. The Todas once had a large gathering here, and a man jumped a long distance which was recorded by means of these stones.

The other villages of the Kanòdrsol, *Taknin*, *Kushu* or



FIG. 71.—THE STONES AT FISHKWOSHT CALLED 'TEUAR.'

Kushu, &c., are in the same neighbourhood, but I was unable to visit them, and do not know whether they have any objects of interest.

KWÒDRDONI

This is the most outlying of Toda clans, but numerous tea estates have been established in its neighbourhood, and the people appear to have been a good deal influenced by the altered conditions. I was unable to visit any of the villages, and I know less about this clan than any other.

All the villages of the clan are situated in the district of the hills called by the Todas *Purgòdr*, and the people of the clan are, therefore, often called the *Purgòdròl*.

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618 At present there appear to be seventeen males and fourteen
621 females, but it is probable that these numbers are not complete. There are two *kudr*, headed by Kiurvan (32) and Atcharap (34). The former has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Puner (31), Kiurvan (32), and Orudz (33), and the latter has two *pòlm*, headed by Atcharap (34) and Kudar (35).

This clan seems now to occupy only two villages. One is Kwòrdoni (Kodudonnemand), where there is only a *tarvali*, though there was formerly a *wursuli*, now ruined, in which was kept a *mani* called *Kirsongg* which has disappeared. The other village is *Katihar* (Kodanadmand). The male funeral place is *Iudi*, and the female, *Punmud*.

PÄM

This is a clan which formerly occupied the site of Coonoor and Wellington. Its numbers are small, probably only seventeen males and thirteen females. There are two *kudr*, headed by Udrchovan (36) and Pungievan (37). Udrchovan's *kudr* has only one *pòlm*. Pungievan's *kudr* has three *pòlm*, of which the chief men are Pungievan (37), Arparners (38) and Seili (39).

234 The original *etudmad* of the clan was *Pirspurs*, the site of
621 which was used for the Coonoor racecourse. *Päm* was then adopted as the chief village, but it has been allowed to fall into ruins, though still giving its name to the clan. The dairy at Päm was called *Palikùdrbedz* and the buffalo-pen, *Tùghdron*. *Inikitj*, where the people now live, is an uninteresting village at which there are the ruins of a *tarvali*. There is a building in which the four or five sacred buffaloes (*nashperthir*) are kept, but they are not milked as there is no *palikartmohk*.

764 The male funeral place of this clan was *Puvi*, and the female, *Kwatkash*. These were situated where the Wellington barracks now stand, and the funerals are now held near *Inikitj*. Fig. 51 shows the wooden *teiks* at which the sacred buffalo would be killed at the funeral of a male.

618 There are several stories about Karnisi (37), a member of
159 this clan. He is said to have been an exceptionally strong

man, and the Todas tell how on one occasion two English soldiers came to Pām and insulted the women and how Karnisi took the two men unaided to the barracks at Wellington.

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Karnisi also spent a fortune which had been stored in the dairy of Pām for many generations. A vessel (*pun*) full of rupees had been deposited in the dairy by an ancestor of Karnisi called Kiuten. It remained there till Karnisi spent it in buying buffaloes, ornaments for his many wives and household goods. He gave some of the rupees away and spent others in travelling to Coimbatore, and in a short time the money had disappeared.

NIDRSI

The headquarters of the Nidrsi clan are to the south of Coonoor. The people are closely surrounded by tea estates and have been much influenced. It is not now a large clan, having about sixteen male and twenty-five female members.

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There are two *kudr*, headed by Todrigars (41) and Kudrmaskutan (43) respectively, each *kudr* having two *pōlm*. The chief men of the *pōlm* of one *kudr* are Puvener (40) and Todrigars, and of the other *kudr*, Kadrkutan (42) and Kudrmaskutan.

This clan affords a very good example of the degeneration which has in some cases befallen the dairy organisation. The people have only one *wursulir* left. The dairy (*wursuli*) has fallen into ruins, and they have no *wursol* and, therefore, the one buffalo is not milked. At a funeral of a male they will have to procure a *wursol* from another clan to kill this buffalo.

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There are two *mani*, called *Eshtiatkudr* and *Eikudr*, each with an iron chain, but as they have no *wursuli* these bells are kept under a stone at Akirsikōdri, the male funeral village. The other sacred buffaloes, *pinespir*, &c., are milked at a *tarvahi*.

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There are now only four inhabited villages, and only one of these seems to be of any importance.

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Nidrai. This is near the Badaga village of Hulikal. It

621 consists chiefly of huts obviously of recent construction and not of the proper Toda form. There is a small dairy (*tarvali*) and the situation of the former *wursuli*, almost completely overgrown, can still be seen. There is a buffalo enclosure called *Punatu*. The *irnörtkars* is a stone of ordinary appearance with other smaller stones round it, and there is also a *pillinörtkars* of which only a small piece now shows above the ground. There is a very large *tukitthkars* at this village (see pp. 252 and 597).

621 Another stone here is called *imudrikars* or *parsatthkars*.
 778 Milk is put on it every morning and evening by the
 609 *palikartmokk*, but it is not used in any way in connexion
 at and splintered this stone some years ago. Soon after he
 was bitten by his horse, and he asked the Todas, with whom
 he was on very good terms, what ought to be done. He was
 told that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, and a few
 days later he brought a three-year-old calf to the *irnörtkars*
 at Nidrsi and gave it to the people. It was taken by both
kudr and the Englishman was soon well again. The whole
 affair was regarded as a good joke, and is interesting as
 showing that the Todas do not object to making sport of one
 of their sacred ceremonies, especially when they gain an
 addition to their stock of buffaloes.

621 *Akirsikòdri*. This is the male funeral village, at which there
 is a dairy with three rooms, in which the body of a dead
 man is placed on the day of the *etvainolkedr*.

MELGARS.

184 The Tarthar clan which takes its name from the village of
 618 Melgars occupies a very special position in the Toda social
 234 organisation and in the dairy ceremonial. Although a
 554 Tarthar clan, the Melgarsol in many respects resemble the
 Teivaliol much more closely than they resemble the other
 clans of their own division.

In former times the Melgarsol are said to have held the
 office of *palol* at the Kars *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and to have
 lost this privilege owing to misbehaviour of a *palol*, of which

an account has been already given. They are still capable of holding the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, for which otherwise only Teivaliol are eligible, and they have privileges and duties in connexion with various kinds of Toda ceremonial which are wholly unshared by other clans.

Though they may still hold the offices of *wursol* and *kaltmokh*, they are not allowed to carry out certain of the duties; thus, a Melgars *wursol* may not kill the sacred buffalo at a funeral, nor may he perform any of the other duties which fall to the part of a *wursol* on this occasion.

Although a Melgars man may no longer be *palol*, the Melgars people have a large number of privileges and duties connected with the *ti*. An account of these has already been given, but they may shortly be recapitulated here with the names given to them by the Todas.

(i.) *Môr vatiti, tôr tititi*. "Buttermilk he drinks, food he takes." The Melgars men may take buttermilk and food at the dwelling-hut of any *ti*, and they alone have this privilege at the dairies of the Nôdrs *ti*.

(ii.) *Teirpûlk mad oiiti*. "He goes at the head (of the procession) to (the place called) *teirpûl*."

(iii.) *Ti alugpur putiti*. "The *alug* things of the *ti* he carries."

(iv.) *Alug puts nitz ithtothi*. "*Alug* come, stand he must." The Melgars man must stand by a certain tree with the *alug* when he comes to the new place during the migration of the *ti* buffaloes.

(v.) *Erd pûnrs ithtothi*. "Two *pûnrs* (four days) he must be." He stays at Anto from the Sunday on which the buffaloes migrate till the following Wednesday.

In addition to these privileges, it is also the duty of the Melgarsol to carry out rebuilding or repairing operations at a *ti mad*, and he has also to assist in carrying the body of a dead *palol*.

The special duties of the Melgarsol are not limited to the ceremonial of the *ti*, but in certain other ceremonies it is essential that a Melgars man shall be present or take part. He must milk a buffalo to provide milk for Tarthar women coming out of the seclusion-hut both after the hand-burning

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554 ceremony of pregnancy and after childbirth. He does this
796 for women of his own clan and for those of all other Tarthar
clans except that of Kwòdrdoni. A Melgars man must be
present on the second day of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony of the
kugvalir of Taradr, and the ceremony of this day, which is
called *irpataduthti*, cannot take place if a Melgars man is not
present.

[574] It was also said that a Melgars man must be present when-
ever a feast is given at the end of a period called *pon* in any
clan, but I am very doubtful as to the necessity of this. I
think it is probable that no feast ever occurs at which a
Melgars man fails to put in an appearance, and that my
informants had come to regard his presence as necessary, but
it seemed very doubtful whether his presence was an essential
condition for the occurrence of this, as it certainly was in the
case of certain other ceremonies.

184 There was some difference of opinion as to the reasons why
554 the Melgarsol enjoyed these exceptional privileges. The
618 Melgars people themselves believed that their exceptional
773 position was due to the connexion of Kwoto with their clan.
They said that when Kwoto became superior to all the gods,
and was called Meilitars, these privileges were given to the
clan to which he belonged. According to another account,
the position of a Melgars man at the head of the procession
of the Nòdrs *ti* was settled by Anto in order to appease the
buffalo Enmars when two of its bells were taken away and
given to the Pan *ti*. Others, again, said that the privileges of
the Melgarsol were given as a recompense when this clan
was deprived of its privilege of becoming *palol*. There is
little doubt that the real reason for the Melgars privileges has
been lost and that different reasons have been sought in the
Toda legends. The Melgars people have chosen a reason
which gratifies their pride in claiming Kwoto as one of
themselves, while other Todas have reasons which serve to
add to the importance of the sacred institution of the *ti*, of
which they are so proud.

184 There are other special features in which the Melgars people
554 differ from the rest of the Tarthar clans. They have no
618 *wursulir*, though they can become *wursol* to other clans, so

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that, in this respect, they resemble the Teivaliol in being able to tend buffaloes which they do not themselves possess. Another difference is that the *palikartmokh* of the Melgarsol uses *tudr* bark in his ordination ceremonies, and this gives him a higher rank than other *tarpalikartmokh*. It is on this account that a Melgars *palikartmokh* may not visit the *tarvali* of another clan (see p. 66).

The Melgarsol again resemble the Teivaliol in not shaving the head after a funeral, as is done by Tarthar clans other than that of Melgars.

The Melgarsol resemble the Teivaliol in so many respects that it is tempting to suppose that this clan must at one time have formed part of the Teivali division and for some reason was transferred to the Tartharol. Every Toda whom I questioned on the point was, however, certain that the Melgars people had always been members of the Tartharol.

There are two facts which show that there is some special relation between the people of Melgars and those of Kwodrdoni. One is that intermarriage is said to be prohibited between members of these two clans; the other is that the milking by a Melgars man when a Tarthar woman is leaving the seclusion-hut does not take place in the case of a Kwodrdoni woman. These facts point to some relation between the two clans of which I was unable to obtain any account.

The Melgarsol form a fairly large clan, having at the present time about thirty-one male and twenty female representatives. They have at present only one *kudr*, the other having become extinct about eight years ago on the death of Tikon (49). A half-sister of this man is still living, but the *kudr* has no male representative. During the last eight years, the Melgarsol have had no trouble (*kaspel*) which has made it necessary to perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, but should the occasion arise, a *naim* would decide on a re-division of the other *kudr*. I was told that the matter was continually the subject of discussion, and it seemed probable that the nature of the re-division was already more or less arranged, but would not be definitely settled till the occasion arose.

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618 The one *kudr* has four *pòlm*, of which the chief men are
621 Kiunievan (44), Artholvan (45), Nòtirzi (46) and Ilgeivan (48).
Tergudrvan (47) belonged to the same *pòlm* as Artholvan.
The families included in Table 49 are all extinct in the male
line, and, with the exception of Tikon, I am doubtful to which
kudr or *pòlm* they belonged.

Melgars, the chief village, is situated behind the gardens of
Government House at Ootacamund. It has few features of
interest, and there is little to be seen at the other villages of
the clan. *Nùln* (Narigulimand) is situated in the Kundahs.

Two Toda villages, Ki Perththo and PadeGAR, are said to be
the general property of the Tartharol, but at the time of my
visit both were inhabited by the Melgarsol.

The village of *Katol*, which is now ruined, is mentioned by
Harkness as one of the villages near Ootacamund.

The chief funeral place is *Ushadr*, mentioned in the story
of Kwoto. There is another funeral place called *Mirzoti*
common to Melgars and Kidmad.

KIDMAD AND KARSH

618 These are two sub-divisions of the Melgarsol which separated
621 from the main body, probably about seven or eight genera-
554 tions ago. At first I heard only of Kidmad, and it was
578 only when working over the Nidrsiol that I found there
were people living with this clan who did not belong to it,
but were an offshoot of the Melgars people and were called
Karshol.

According to one account, both Kidmadol and Karshol
separated from the main body at the same time, but,
according to another, the people who first separated belonged
to Karsh and then split some generations later into the two
groups.

The separation was due to a quarrel between father and
son. The Melgars people were holding a council and one
of the chief men of the clan was late in coming. When he
appeared in the distance, he was recognised by nobody but
his own son, who, when asked who was coming, said
"*pazuli padmokh pòti àtham nòtthred? Kùtm it vòrs!*—i.e.,

"A wanderer and bastard comes, why do you look at him? Let the council go forward!" (*Pasuli* is a name applied to a man who belongs to no clan, and *padmokh* is the name of the child of a woman with whom no man has performed the *pursutpimi* ceremony.)

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The *manmokh* (sister's son) of the father was present at the council, and when his uncle arrived, the *manmokh* told him what had been said by his son in the council, and the father said, "I am no *pasuli*, it is you who are the *pasuli*: henceforward you must not live at Melgars; you will have nothing from me except what I give you to-day." The father gave the son a one-horned buffalo (*kwadrkutir*) and a portion of the Mirzoti funera! place.

Since that day descendants of the son have been separate from Melgarsol and they have held their funerals at Mirzoti, but not on the same spot as the Melgars people.

The Kidmadol and Karshol have lost certain privileges possessed by other Todas. The loss of these privileges is expressed by the Todas as follows:—

(i.) *Meitin kith dgadi*. "He may not sit on the *meitin*." When a man of Kidmad or Karsh goes to any Tarthar dairy he is not allowed to sit on the raised bed on the right hand side of the door.

(ii.) *Nlrsi nest dgadi*. "He may not rub the fire-sticks." If fire has to be made at a male funeral, or on any other occasion, it must be done by a man of another clan.

(iii.) *Ertatpun pitth dgadi*. "He may not touch the *ertatpun*," a dairy vessel which may be touched by any other Toda man. The result of this restriction is that a man of these clans can never hold a dairy office.

Marriages are not allowed between Melgars people and those of either Kidmad or Karsh.

The village of Karsh no longer exists; it was near Akirziködri, but in the time of Kilpan (51) the people were so poor that they went to live with the Nidrsiol and have remained with them since. Though living at Nidrsi, they are still regarded as a separate people, and marriages may take place between the two clans. They have only three or four ordinary buffaloes. If a male dies they have to kill

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a *persasir*, which they obtain from Melgars. The only males living are one man and his son, the father having also two sisters.

The Kidmadol are more prosperous, and the men of the clan appear to be fairly prominent people among the Todas, in spite of their disadvantages. Kijievan (5) has the reputation of being one of the ablest people of the whole community. The clan numbers five males and three females.

THE TEIVALI CLANS

KUUDR

This is the most important of the Teivali clans, at any rate from the social point of view. It has supplied the *monegar* since the institution of this office, and it is the only Teivali clan represented on the Toda *naim* or council. From the religious point of view the Kuudrol are less important and have no exclusive rights to any sacred office,¹ though they are exceptional in being greeted by the *palol* with the *kwarsam* of their clan, *Ivikanmokhkûtmeilteu*, followed by *idith* as in the prayers. The origin of this custom is said to be that long ago strangers came to the hills and massacred all the people of the clan except one boy, who hid himself in the buffalo pen. The present people of Kuudr are descended from the boy and his escape is commemorated in the greeting of the *palol*. The Kuudrol also possess the very sacred dairy of Kiudr.

The Kuudr clan is the largest of the Teivali clans and stands second in point of numbers among all the Toda clans. It has at least sixty-three male and thirty-five female representatives. I omitted to obtain the children of two families, and these would raise the numbers slightly.

I had much difficulty in obtaining a correct account of the organisation of the Kuudrol, the difficulty proving to be due to certain anomalies in this clan. It has three chief divisions, headed by Kuriolv (52), Ishkievan (60) and Tövoniners (61),

¹ For the story how the Kuudr people came to lose the right of providing the *palol* for the Nödris *ti*, see p. 114.

- 618 and each of these divisions is sometimes called a *kudr*.
 621 From the point of view, however, of the *irnörtiti* ceremony it is clear that the division of Tövoniners is not a definite *kudr*, for the men of this division do not receive buffaloes from any other division, although they may themselves perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, in which case the buffalo goes to the men of the other two divisions. The family of Tövoniners differs also from other families of the clan in having no place at the village of Kuudr. This anomalous position of the family is due to the part played by the men of the family in the quarrel which led to the separation of the Pedrkars people from Kuudr (see p. 675). The family of Tövoniners is probably not a *kudr* in the strict sense of the term, and if so, the Kuudr clan falls into line with other clans in being divided into two *kudr* only.

There was also some confusion about the *pölm* of the Kuudr clan, one source of confusion being due to the trouble connected with the parentage of Teitchi (52), which has been already considered (see p. 564).

It was quite clear that the *kudr* of Ishkievan has two *pölm* only, headed by Ishkievan and Tadrners (60).

Kuriolv's division was said to have eight *pölm*, the head men being Kuriolv (52), Targners (53), Pöteners (54), Keitas (55), Tüliners and Tikievan (56), Mudriners (57), and Madsu (58). The men of the first four *pölm* are known to be closely connected with one another, and, as may be seen in the genealogies, the first three claim common descent from Tudrvan. Similarly the *pölm* of Tüliners, Tikievan and Madsu are known to be closely connected. About the position of the *pölm* of Mudriners, as we have already seen, there is much doubt, the state of affairs being that it is really most closely connected with the *pölm* of Tüliners and Tikievan, but that Kuriolv claims it as closely allied to his own through the relation of Teitchi to Kõrs. Formerly the family of Arsners (59) formed a separate *pölm*, but owing to the fact that it now has only two young members, and is very poor, it has been joined to the *pölm* of Madsu (58).

Including the families of Tövoniners and Arsners, there

618 would thus be twelve *pōlm*. This is not consistent with the
 621 information given in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony (see p. 169), from which it appears that there are fifteen heads of families in the Kuudrol. It may be that the *pōlm* and family do not correspond with one another, or there may be some other explanation of the discrepancy.

The following are the chief villages of the Kuudrol :—

Kuudr (Kundakodumand). This is a large village with substantial huts in the Tamil style which have been built by Kuriolv. There is a large dairy, the *tudrpali*, and a smaller dairy, the *kidpali*, in front of it, with two buffalo enclosures (*tu*), one apparently for each dairy. In the large *tu* there are three stones called *keinkars*, *tashtikars* and *mutckudkars*, all of ceremonial importance (see p. 169). Growing in one side of the *tu* there is a tree called *teikhuwadiki*, under which the *mu* is buried.

[312] As usual, water is taken from two sources, and at Kuudr that used for sacred purposes is drawn from a spring, called *kiznir*. The origin of this spring has been already given in connexion with the prayer of Kuudr, in which this and other events in the history of the village are commemorated. The special relations between Kuudr and Odr have been already considered in the account of the latter village.

234 *Kiudr* (Kengodumand). This village has a somewhat
 621 anomalous position in that, though not the chief village of its clan from the social point of view, it is in many ways more
 778 sacred than Kuudr.

[342] It is a very picturesque village, shown in Fig. 7, in which there are two dwelling-huts. That shown in the figure is one of the largest and best constructed of existing Toda huts, having been rebuilt recently under the direction of Kijievan (50), who has a special reputation as an architect. It was at this village that a pregnant woman was not allowed to come to the hut, but had to remain at some little distance, and the sacredness of the hut is also shown by the fact that the prayer of this village provides the only instance in which the *kwarsam* of a hut occurs.

The dairy is situated at some little distance from the huts, quite out of sight of people at the latter. On going from

621 to a son and the seclusion-hut was at Molkush, and both before and after the birth the woman and those connected with her were living at this village. It seemed as if the restrictions connected with life at Kiudr are avoided by building at a little distance what is technically another village, at which the people live whenever for any reason they are not allowed to live at Kiudr. Its existence seemed to me to be one of the many devices by means of which the Todas keep the letter of the law with the minimum of inconvenience.

Minni (Marlimand). This is a village of the Kuudrol which is revered by all Todas on account of the belief that it was formerly the meeting-place of the gods. It is a very picturesque village, situated near the Marlimand reservoir and has two dairies.

Kwirg is chiefly important as the place at which new *pep* is made for the Kuudr clan. Its prayer is given on p. 222.

Arz is an uninteresting village near Kuudr.

Peivdrz. This is a village near Paikara. It contains a double house, shown in Fig. 8, and has two dairies, one of which is now used as a calf-house. The second dairy was built when two families were living at the village, and the one dairy was not large enough for both.

Pirsush. This is a *kalolmad*.

Karia, a village near the Paikara road, from which a modern long house in the Tamil style is to be seen. Behind this are the old dwelling-hut and the dairy. At the time of my visit the new house was unoccupied and the people were living in the old hut.

PIEDR

618 The people of Piedr derive their special importance from the fact that they provide the *palol* for the sacred *ti* of Nòdrs. According to tradition, they had this privilege exclusively at one time; later, they shared it with the Kuudrol, and now they share with the people of Kusharf. They form a fairly large clan, having about twenty-eight male and fourteen female members.

As in the case of the Kuudrol, there was some doubt about

the divisions of the clan. There are said to be three *kudr*, of which the chief men are Teikudr (63), Eisodr (64), and Nongarsivan (62). If a man of Teikudr's division has to perform the *irmörtiti* ceremony, the buffalo goes to Eisodr's division, and *vice versa*. If a man of Nongarsivan's division performs the ceremony, the buffalo would go to both the other divisions. Thus Nongarsivan's *kudr* seems to form an extra division, like that of Tövoniners among the Kuudrol. I did not obtain any explanation of this, but it is probably due to the fact that the people of Nongarsivan's division live at Kavidī in the Wainad, and are, in consequence, regarded as being outside the regular affairs of the clan. I failed to obtain an account of the *pñw*.

The chief village of the clan is now rarely visited. It is in the northern parts of the hills near the Badaga village of Hullatti. I had hoped to have visited it and the neighbouring village of Kusharf, but had not time. Some members of the clan visit the village of Piedr once a year, but I did not learn what was done on the occasion.

Kavadi. This is now one of the chief villages of the clan. It has a modern house, the largest and most highly ornamented Toda dwelling which I saw on the hills.

Tavuthudr is a village of one hut and a dairy. It was this dairy which was burnt during my visit as a consequence of the revelation of *ti* secrets to me by Kaners, who lived at this village.

Eparskodr is an ancient village at which the first Toda died (see p. 400). At present the village consists of a dairy only.

Kavidī is situated in the Wainad, not far from Gudalur. I did not visit it, but, so far as I could gather, it contained no object of interest and there was no evidence that it was an ancient settlement.

The clan has several funeral places, partly owing to the fact that the Kavidī people are at too great a distance from the top of the hills to hold the *etvainolbedr* in the ordinary funeral place. The Kavidī people, therefore, have two special funeral places, called *Sudvaili* for males and *Mōmanothi* for females. The second funeral, or *marvainolbedr*, was, however, held at the regular places of *Meroin* and *Pamarkol*.

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- 618 A disused village in the Wainad is called *Potvalli*. The
621 termination *valli* of this village and of the male funeral
place only occurs here, and is probably borrowed from some
other language, possibly from the Kurumbas.

One abandoned village of this clan, *Nongarsi*, seems to have been situated near Ootacamund. Its Badaga name is Kettarimand, and it is possibly one of the villages mentioned by Harkness.

KUSHARF

The people of this clan are called indifferently Kusharfol or Umgasol. There seemed to be no doubt that Kusharf is the chief village, but, like Piedr, it is little used, and Umgas is coming to be regarded as the *studmad*.

The Kusharfol seem to be in some way related to the Piedrol. They share with the latter the privilege of providing the *palel* for the Nödrs *ti*, and the two clans are not allowed to intermarry. They have the same *nödröchi*, Teipakh, and it seems possible that they were originally two sub-divisions of one clan.

At present the Kusharfol are not numerous, having only about thirteen male and thirteen female representatives. They have two *kudr*, headed by Nödrners and Ongudr, each of which has two *pölm*. The chief men of the *pölm* of one *kudr* are Ongudr (65) and Pangudr (66); of the other, Nödrners and Erkhud (67).

The chief village of Kusharf is near Hullatti, and, like the neighbouring Piedr, is rarely visited.

Umgas. This is at present the most important village of the clan; it is shown in Fig. 72. There are two large dwelling-huts shown on the right-hand side of the figure. The building to the left of them is the chief dairy, which is called *Kuotödrök*. It is a *poä* and not a *päli*, though of the ordinary form, and is exceptional in being situated so near the dwelling-huts. The *päli* is situated still more to the left, hidden by trees.

The two tall stones in the foreground are called *nadrkkars*. They serve as *innörkars* and also mark out the path by which women must go on their way to the huts, the women

619 having to keep on the right-hand side of these stones. By the wall of the huts and close to the *po* there are two stones, the *majvatitthkars*, at which women stand when they receive buttermilk (*may*) from the dairy. About fifteen yards in front of the other dairy (*pali*) there is a stone called *imudrikars*. On one side of this there is a narrow well-worn track along which women must go on their way to the dairy,



FIG. 72.—THE VILLAGE OF UMGAS, SHOWING THE 'MAIREKKARS' IN THE CENTRE. BEHIND THE STONES IS THE 'PO' OF THIS VILLAGE, AND ON ITS RIGHT ARE THE DWELLING-HUTS.

and nearer the *pali* there are two *majvatitthkars*, where they stand when receiving buttermilk.

Between the *po* and the *pali* there is the *tu* and at the far end of this is a large stone, the *maritthkars*, marking the spot where the *ma* is buried.

Teidr is not far from *Nödrs*. It has two huts and a dairy. The *tridrtalkars* of *Nödrs* takes its name from this village, the *swaral* who gave the name to the stone being a *Teidr* man.

Teidr is one of the villages which is said to have been

- 618 formerly a *ti mad*, and in support of the statement I was
 621 taken to see two stones called *neursiinkars* at some little
 distance from the village.

Pōlm is close to the tree known in Ootacamund as "the umbrella tree." There are two huts and a dairy, which was in ruins at the time of my visit. Under the "umbrella tree" there are two stones. One of these has been overgrown by the tree so that it is now firmly imbedded. It is called *Koraten* and is said to have been thrown by Korateu from his hill. The other stone is deeply imbedded and only shows three small projections above the ground. This is the *Nōtirzikars* and was thrown to this spot by the goddess Nōtirzi from her hill.

In a wood near at hand overgrown by trees, there is another stone called *Kānkars*, marking the spot where the *pasthir* were killed at the funeral place which formerly existed here.

KEADR

This clan had at one time the privilege of supplying the *palol* to the Pan *ti*, but its numbers are now small, and the *palol* of this *ti* at present belongs to the Piedrol. There are now only eleven males and ten females belonging to the clan.

Till recently there was a branch of the clan called Kwaradrol, taking their name from the village of Kwaradr. According to some, the Kwaradrol were a separate clan, but there seemed to be little doubt that they were part of the Keadrol and formed one *kudr* of the clan. The division only became extinct in the male line a few years ago, and the genealogical record of the family is given in Table 70.

The head man of the other *kudr* is Perner (68), and this division has three *pōlm*, two of which are headed by Perner and Pichievan (69), while the third has only three young boys, Karem (69) and his brothers, as members. Since the Kwaradrol died out, the clan has only had one *kudr*, but during my visit it was decided that a new *kudr* should be

formed, and the *pōlm* of Karem was made the new division, so that in future the Keadrol will have one *kudr* consisting of one *pōlm*, and another of two *pōlm*. It was said that the original partition of the clan into Keadrol and Kwaradrol was due to Kwoten, who established the two divisions in order that there should be someone to take the place of a *palol* who left on account of a funeral in his clan.

Keadr. This, the chief village of the clan, is situated near Keradr. I was unable to visit it, and have no record of any features of interest it may possess.

Kwaradr, the village from which one division took its name, is near Avalanche, and is now falling into ruins owing to the dying out of the family which occupied it.

Pekhadr is called by the Badagas Osamand, or "new village," and has only been in existence about ten years.

Kapthōri is now in ruins, but is mentioned in the story of Kwoten.

PEDRKARS

This clan is an offshoot of the Kuudrol, from which it has now for a long time been separated. The division arose out of a quarrel at a council which was once being held at Kuudr.¹ There were three parties in the *naim*, each wishing that a different ceremony should be performed. One party wished to give salt to the buffaloes, a second wanted to sacrifice a calf (*erkumpttkpimi*), and a third were in favour of moving to another village (*irskidtktothi*). The three parties could not agree, and it was finally decided that those who wished to do *irskidtktothi* should separate from the rest. They did so and went to live near Kwōdrdoni, and have since been a separate clan, now known as the Pedrkarsol. The people who wished to do *erkumpttkpimi* were the ancestors of Tōvoniners, and it is in consequence of this quarrel that this family occupies its anomalous position and has no place at Kuudr.

At the same time the people of Pedrkars lost the privilege of being *palol* or *wursol*, but they may become eligible by performing the *irnōrtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr.

¹ This was evidently a council consisting of the members of the clan only.

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578 For some time after the separation intermarriage was not
618 allowed between Kuudr and Pedrkars, but recently such
621 marriages have taken place, and several are recorded in the
genealogies.

There are very few members of the clan, only seven males and five females. At present there is only one *kudr* and this has only one *pölm*. Formerly there were two *kudr*, but one became extinct some time ago.

About three generations ago there was a quarrel between the people of Pedrkars and those of Piedr. A man of Pedrkars named Kavanadi had married a woman of Piedr and one day quarrelled with his wife's father. At Piedr there were at the entrance of the buffalo-pen two large wooden posts (*tüli*). After the quarrel Kavanadi went to Piedr and carried off both the posts with the wooden bars (*tasth*) by which the opening of the pen is closed. When Kavanadi had carried the posts and bars as far as a place called Kalin, near the Kota village of Tizgudr, a stone on the top of one of the *tüli* fell down. It may still be seen and is known as *Kalinkars*. Kavanadi went on, but he soon began to spit blood, and when he had gone some way further, he was obliged to drop the *tüli* at a place which is now called *Tülipudingem*. He managed to reach his home at Pedrkars and then died. A council was held and it was decided that marriage should not be allowed in future between the Piedrol and Pedrkarsol, and no such marriages are recorded in the genealogies.

The stone called Kalinkars which fell by the way is now said to be able to move about and may be seen one day at one spot and on another day at another. The Kotas of Tizgudr have several times taken the stone to their village, but it has always gone back again. In spite of his unfortunate end, Kavanadi is regarded, more or less, as a hero by the Todas and is mentioned in the funeral eulogy of Pidrvan (p. 387).

621 All the villages of the Pedrkarsol are in the part of the
773 hills near Kwödrdoni. Pedrkars itself is said to have been at
619 one time a *ti mad*. Some Tamil people once came to the
hills and found some of the buffaloes of the *ti* standing by a

621 swamp. The Tamils fired at the buffaloes and one was killed. When the *palol* saw this, he cursed, saying "*pedr kars* 773 *ama, kuodr nõdr ama*," "may the Tamil stone become; may 618 the *ti* place an ordinay place become!" Then the people who had killed the buffalo became stones and the buffaloes were taken by the *palol* to the *ti mad* of Kakwai. The people who had separated from Kuodr had before this been living at Pongudr, but when the *ti mad* was deserted they went to live there, and the place was called Pedrkars in consequence of the curse of the *palol* and the clan has since taken its name from this village.

KULHEM

184 This clan appears to occupy the same kind of inferior 554 position among the Teivaliol as that taken by the Kidmadol among the Tarthar clans. The Kulhemol are not allowed to 618 sit on the *meitiin* (right-hand side) of a dairy, and they are not allowed to perform the ordination ceremony with *tudr* 773 bark, which cuts them off from holding the offices of *palol*, *kaltmokh*, or *wursol*.

There was some difference of opinion about the cause of the inferior position of Kulhem. According to one account the people separated from Kuodr at the same time as the Pedrkarsol and for the same reason. According to another account, when Teikirzi was dividing the buffaloes, she left Kulhem till last, intending to give them a good portion. When she was about to give the people of this clan their buffaloes, the invaders came who have been mentioned in the story of Teikirzi (p. 187). After the invaders had been turned to stone, Teikirzi returned to her task of giving buffaloes to Kulhem, but she came to the conclusion that the clan was in some way responsible for the misfortune which had happened, and she gave them no sacred buffaloes and only a few *putiir*, and she enjoined that they should not be ordained with *tudr*. It seems, however, that the Kulhemol resemble the Pedrkarsol in becoming eligible for the office of *palol* if they do *irnõrtits* to Kuodr.

621 The chief village, *Kulhem* or *Kulthlem*, is near Kanõdrs.

- 62/ The only other village of importance is *Konikwòr*, near Paikara. At the time of my visit several of the clan were living at a place called *Kultu*. This is not properly a Toda village, the people living in a hut of the Badaga form near a tea plantation in order to sell the buffalo dung to the planters.
- 61/ This clan now numbers only six males and three females, all belonging to one family (72). They have neither *kudr* nor *pòlm*.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ÉTUD MAND.

Customs of the Village Dairy or Pálthchi—Duties of the Pálkarpál—Important difference in the duties of the Pálál and Pálkarpál—The Tervál—The inside of a Dairy—The Dairy of an Étud Mand is a Shrine—The Badagas term is Mui Mand: why?—Toda form of oath.

THE customs and ceremonies of the tiriéri or Toda cathedral—seat of a divine milkman, established as the medium of conveying the Gods' gift to man—are repeated, though in less awfully sacred form, in every Mand of the tribe; in the village dairy or pálthchi.

The configuration of the dairy has already been described in Chapter VI.

Similarly as one or more nearly-naked recluses belonging to the Peiki clan, are established as páláls for the care of the tiriéri, assisted by their káviláls; so a lesser luminary, generally from the same clan, is the unclothed, ascetic, but more mildly sacred pálkarpál,¹ who, also living *en garçon*, but without any pretensions to God-head, presides over the dairy of each village, helped under certain circumstances by a somewhat similar character in the vorshál.² Both of these men also, have been purified in that wonderful juice which qualifies to the holy offices of milking buffalos and the charge of relics.

I state that the pálkarpál is generally, though not always, of the Peiki clan; for as I observe, the Peikis permit the

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¹ Pálkarpál. See note 4 of Chapter VI.

² See note 4 of Chapter VIII.

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unprofitable office of kâvilâl, and that of pâlkarpâl in villages, to be performed by members of the inferior clan of Pekkan. Moreover, in the care of dairies belonging to their own clan, the Peikis seem often to be content with the services of a Pekkan. I do not feel certain of the cause of this arrangement.

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It is the duty of the pâlkarpâl to milk the village cattle, and to store and partition amongst the various families of the Mand, the shares of the divine fluid and of the nei he has made therefrom.

[778] The village pâlthchi appears not to have any lights; for the reason perhaps, that it has no relics. However that may be, the pâlkarpâl and his companion, the vorshâl, may alone penetrate even the outer room of the dairy. Men and boys freely enter so far as the precincts of the tûar, and village feasts are [342] often given close about the outside. But the dangerous sex are not permitted, even near the wall: and in the instance of more important villages, termed êtud Mand,³ they may not approach within about one hundred feet of it.

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788 The duties of the pâlkarpâl in these pâlthchis are very similar to those of the pâlâl in the tiriêri. The only differences, appearing to arise from the latter acting throughout, the part of a God, the equal of his own relics, which are also Gods, and as the superior of his cattle, the gift of the Gods: whereas the former is merely a holy man engaged in the service of the Gods.

Thus, we have seen in Chapter XV. the pâlâl saluting the cattle, as a God in Toda opinion, should do—in silence. But the pâlkarpâl, in making his obeisance, does so as their servant or dependent, saying, danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama.⁴ Moreover, when he carries his honnu, containing milk, into the dairy, he repeats the formula as he crawls in through the inner door.

³ Êtud. This word seems allied to the Dravidian root ettu or êttu, raise—lift up. [POPE.]

⁴ See note 5 of Chapter VII.

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II. Each clan has grazing and forest land of its own, which is divided between the villages of the clan, each village being situated in its own land.

III. Each village is the abode of a family or intimately related portion of a clan, whose cattle are herded together.

IV. Whilst the land is in each case, the property of the village itself, and cannot be alienated or sold, with or without the consent of the occupants ;^a the cattle which graze on it, are the private property of individuals, being males.

V. The milk of the entire herd is lodged in the pâlthchi, or village dairy, from which each person, male and female, receives for his or her daily consumption ;^a the unconsumed balance being divided, as personal and saleable property, amongst the male members of all ages, in proportion to the number of cattle which each possesses in the herd.

VI. The grain food collected in the form of kâtu,⁷ from the Badagas, is divided amongst the community.

[562] VII. No females, whether married or single, possess property : but, under all circumstances of life, are supported by their male relations ; being fed from the common stock.

428 VIII. When a father dies, his personal property is divided equally among all the sons. If the deceased, being an elder brother, should have no sons, his next brother inherits the property.

[611] IX. All children of both sexes, belong to the father's family : and inheritance runs through the male line only. Thus (1) if a widow should re-marry, her sons by both marriages, have claims on their respective father's property. (2) If a widower marries again, his property will be inherited by his sons of both marriages, equally. (3) If one or more women are in

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common to several men, *each* husband considers *all* the Badagas, is, curiously enough, not employed by the Todas, who have no word for clan.

^a Mr. J. Brooks, late Commissioner of the Neilgherries.

^a See Chapter XVII. for the management of the dairy.

^a See Chapter VIII. on the custom of collecting kâtu.

TODA MARRIAGE REGULATIONS
AND TABOOS

By M. B. EMENEAU

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IT IS many years now that the Todas of the Nilgiris in southern India have been known as a people of peculiar customs and it is thirty years since these peculiar customs were described with a wealth of detail by Rivers in his monumental volume.¹ Even now, however, much remains to be gleaned, and this paper attempts to supplement and correct Rivers' account of one important department of the life of the Todas, viz. the regulations concerning marriage and the taboos associated with these regulations.

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A comprehensive account of the general framework of Toda organization is necessary, though it will be in part repetition of what is already well-known. The tribe has, first, two main divisions: *toir̥ṣas* and *tōḍviḷj*.² For marriage purposes these divisions are endogamous. Each is subdivided into a number of divisions called *mod* (the familiar *mund* is the Badaga form of the word). This word is used also to denote any of the small villages of a few huts in which the Todas live, any of the dairies which stand isolated from a village, including the most sacred of these dairies, the *tiimod*, any of the funeral places, which usually are free of buildings, in fact any spot which at any time is the scene of Toda activities. But *modoiḷ*, "man (or, people) of the *mod*" is used only of the members of a *mod* in its widest sense, that of a subdivision of the people, and in this paper *mod* will be used only in this sense. The *toir̥ṣas* are reckoned to have ten *mod*, the *tōḍviḷj* five. These divisions are exogamous. Membership in a *mod* is determined by legal paternity; a man belongs to the *mod* of his "father," as does a woman until her marriage. The "father" is the man who has last given the bow to the mother of the child in the ceremony called *pūṣṣutt*, "act of giving bow."³ Physical paternity does not count at all for legal purposes, as Rivers has clearly stated. The legal father then is the legal husband of the child's mother, and the husband must be of a different *mod* from that to which his wife belonged by birth.

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Further, a man cannot marry a woman if the two are *poḷjoiḷ*. Membership in a group of people known as *poḷjoiḷ* is determined by descent in the female line. The female members of the *poḷjoiḷ* to whom a man belongs are in his own generation his sisters, the daughters of his mother's sisters, the

¹ W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906).

² For an explanation of the phonetic symbols employed see the final paragraph of the paper.

³ See Rivers, pp. 319-23.

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618 daughters of his maternal grandmother's sisters' daughters, and so on; in the preceding generation his mother, his mother's sisters, his maternal grandmother's mother's daughters' daughters, and so on. To the generation younger than him belong his sisters' daughters, his mother's sisters' daughters' daughters, and so on. A man will also designate as his *poŋjoɪ* his mother's sons, his maternal grandmother's sons, his sisters' sons, and so on for any son of a woman who is related to him as *poŋjoɪ*, but not the descendants of these males. This network of relations in the female line cuts across *mod* divisions, and divides the *toɪɾɔs* at present into five exogamous sets of *poŋjoɪ*, the *töüviŋ* into six. Rivers⁴ has given a concrete example of how *mod*-relationships are handed down from one generation to the next; the relationships of *poŋjoɪ* are preserved in the same way even when links in the relationship are no longer remembered.

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935 A man, then, while marrying within his own half of the whole tribe, must marry outside of his own *mod* and outside of his *poŋjoɪ*. As it is put by the Todas themselves, he must not marry a woman who is *ñudmorkvæidvoj*, "one who is born to one and the same *mod*" or *poŋjoɪ* to him. The other peculiarities of Toda marriage and sexual relationships, viz. polyandry, the institution whereby a man may take another's wife upon the payment of compensation, that by which a man may take a concubine from the other half of the tribe, and the general license permitting a man to have sexual intercourse with a woman who takes his fancy without any permanent tie being formed, seem to have blinded observers to these fundamental rules, which govern not only marriages, but also all sexual relationships. No man may marry or have intercourse with any woman who is related to him through a wholly male line or through a wholly female line. This is the system which is generally followed by the castes and communities of Hindu south India (with some exceptions which follow the rules prevalent in north India or some peculiar system of their own). The corollary following from it, that a man may marry his cross-cousin, obtains of course among the Todas as it does among the other south Indian communities following these rules. Among the Todas it is optional, though preferable, and is applied in the symmetrical fashion.⁵ It seems to be the rule among many of the south Indian communities that the mother's brother's daughter is preferred, though without excluding the possibility of marriage to the father's sister's daughter; there is no trace of this preference for asymmetry among the Todas.

⁴ Page 490.

⁵ Rivers, p. 314, and my informants generally.

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Rivers' account of the general rule⁶ is incomplete and in part incorrect. How this came about is of course not certain, but a guess may be hazarded on the cause. There is even now, when information is apparently more easily obtained on most subjects than it was thirty years ago, some reticence and embarrassment about the subject of *poŋjoɪ*. It seems to be connected in part at least with the taboos that surround the relationship, perhaps more with the general air of indecency and ridicule with which the Todas approach the subject. This will be made clear when an account is given of the names of the divisions and the stories behind them. At the moment it is necessary to criticize Rivers' account. He interprets the term *poŋjoɪ* (his *pūliol*) as including both sets of prohibited affinities. This, being quite contrary to Toda usage, explains the impression he records that "it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his *pūliol* included all the people of his own clan" (i.e. *mod*). It was a new and wholly erroneous idea. The list of *pūliol* which he gives is in part a mixture of two sets of relationships, in part incorrect, and as a whole incomplete. A man may not marry the daughters of his father's brothers (Rivers' heading i) or the sisters of his father (heading iii), since they are *ūwɔmɔrtkvæɪdvoj*. The daughters of his mother's sisters (heading ii) and the daughters of his sisters (heading iii) are forbidden, since they are *poŋjoɪ*. His fourth head, the daughters of the sisters of his father's father, gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriages to such persons found in the genealogies.⁷ The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden. The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not *poŋjoɪ* to him, but *ūwɔmɔrtkvæɪdvoj*; they cannot have married his *ūwɔmɔrtkvæɪdvoj*, and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given⁸ that a person must not marry the child of his *motŋɪŋ* (*matchuni*, i.e. cross-cousin) is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of his own *mod*, in which case the daughter will be forbidden to him. If she has married outside his *mod*, there are no objections. Again, if a man's male *motŋɪŋ* has married a woman who is *poŋjoɪ* to the man's mother, the *motŋɪŋ*'s daughter will be forbidden to the man; otherwise, not. The case in the last paragraph on p. 511 of Rivers' work, that of a man marrying a daughter of his sister's daughter, is impossible, since she would be his *poŋjoɪ*. The final case in this paragraph, the marriage of two brothers to the daughter of their sister's son, violated no rule; the disapproval that attended the marriage was undoubtedly due to the disproportion in age, not as such, but as depriving

⁶ Rivers, pp. 509-11.

⁷ Rivers, p. 511.

⁸ Rivers, p. 511 *mod.* and again p. 513.

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some young man of an opportunity to marry, a consideration which must always have some weight in a community as small as that of the Todas. It should be remarked further that relations of *poŋjoɪ* are extremely hard to trace in Rivers' genealogical tables. This is partly due to the intrinsic difficulty of using for this purpose a set of tables constructed for another purpose, partly to the fact that there are many inaccuracies of detail in the assignment of children both to fathers and to mothers. To set all right two sets of tables should be constructed, one for each kind of relationship: whether any useful purpose would be served by the task may be considered doubtful.

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A note on the semantics of the word *poŋjoɪ* may be given here. It means "man (or person, or people) of the *poŋ*." The most usual meaning of *poŋ* is "sacred dairy," a meaning which will not explain our word. Another meaning is found, viz. "Badaga house" (the Toda house is called *aiɪ*). A sentence such as the following no doubt gives the clue: *emelom ūɪd-voŋjoɪ/oiɪvemi*, "we all are persons of the same (*ūɪd*) *poŋ* (i.e. *poŋjoɪ*)."
It is quite obvious that our word is based on an obsolete meaning "house," the members of which, a man, his mother, his sisters, form the nucleus of the whole *poŋjoɪ* institution. The semantic development of *poŋ* should be stated then in the following order: first, "house;" second, "dairy." The second meaning then drove out, for reasons at present unexplainable, the first except in the application to the houses of the Badagas and in the compound *poŋjoɪ* and sentences like the one given above, which are rather based on the old first meaning of the word then reformed on the basis of the word *poŋjoɪ*. That this interpretation of the Toda words is correct is seen from the Tamil cognate *poŋi*, "building, temple."

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As was said above, there are at present five sets of *poŋjoɪ* among the *toɪɪɪs*. Another has in recent years become extinct by the death of its last female member, *sinul* of the *keruɪɪ* (found in Rivers' Table 28 as *Sinul*). Of the remaining ones the names and stories are as follows. The *kūatæmboŋjoɪ* or *oiɪvutɪɪkvoŋjoɪ* is said to be descended from *kūatæm* (Rivers' *Kwoten*). Of him it is told that his spiritual power was so great that he lit fire on the surface of a stream; his *poŋjoɪ* make fire by friction with great ease. The other name is based on a story that one man of the line bought for six rupees six (*aiɪ*) cakes made with chillies (the cake is called *punt*). A crow (*kaɪk*) carried one off, and the man, leaving the others behind, chased the crow, whereupon crows carried off all the other cakes. This story like most of the others to follow ridicules the stupidity of the members of the line. Another is called *moɪɪtukoɪtɪvoŋjoɪ*, "people of the house of one who heated the child at the fire." The story goes that in

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order to strengthen a new-born child, they smeared it all over with butter and put it in front of the fire; as a result the child died. Another is called *mukoṣṭurktoirjvmtvojvoḷjoiḷ*, "people of the house of those who carried large baskets to the mukor swamp" or *moivyoioṇoḍmō/yūartvojvoḷjoiḷ*, "people of the house of those who ground pepper without seeing the deer." It is told that seeing carrion-eating birds circling over a swamp they assumed that there was a dead deer there and went off with large baskets to bring back the flesh, telling the women meanwhile to grind a large heap of pepper for the curry. Of the other two, more indelicate stories are told. One is called *pikukveṇvotsvojvoḷjoiḷ*, "people of the house of one who put butter on the navel." A woman covered her navel with butter and made a dog lick it and have intercourse with her. The other is called *pultḥvojvoḷjoiḷ*. It is said that formerly a man and woman of this *poḷjoiḷ* had sexual intercourse with one another. The women of this line are said to be particularly strong in their sexual passions; the verb with this meaning *ṭṛtsti*, "she is passionate," and the noun *ariṇ*, "passionate woman" are tabooed under the conditions described below, and it is said that the element *pultḥ*, not otherwise found, has the meaning of these tabooed words.

Six *poḷjoiḷ* of the *tōṭvliḷj* survive: one other is known to have become extinct some years ago with the death of *kūwisiyūmīr* of the *koḷemoiḷ* (Kurikudr in Rivers' Table 72). The others are as follows. The *ūatvayḍurispodjvætoidjvoḷjoiḷ*, "people of the house of one who hunted the pig in the *ūatvax* swamp" are so named because one of the line hunted a pig which he had seen for a whole day and night and yet let it escape him. Another is called *nōṇgoiṭkvarḷyartjvoḷjoiḷ*, "people of the house of those who sent fuel to *nōṇgoiṭ*." Men of this line saw a hare, and intending to hunt it for food, set the family to work to collect fuel to roast it for three days. A third is called *oirvmtḡeirjvoḷjoiḷ*. The story is the same as for the *oirvmtḡaikvoḷjoiḷ* of the other division, except that the cakes were in a basket *mukeirj*, to which the element *keirj* in the name is equivalent. Another, the *pevūtḡyolijvoḷjoiḷ*, "people of the house of the stealer of a large piece of meat," are so named because one of the line stole a large piece of meat at the sacrifice of a calf (*ṛeiryūmtt*, "act of killing male buffalo").⁹ A fifth is called *kūḍurḡoilvūjtḡetapeḷkōḷkḡvoḷjoiḷ*, "people of the house of one who seizing a horse's leg pole-vaulted." It is told that a man, finding a dead horse, cut off the leg and vaulted with it until he reached the door of a house where he was beaten by the occupants. The last is called *ōmḡḡkōrkofvūpætḡpūṭḡvūrkūṭḡvoḷjoiḷ*, "people of the house of one who taking the milking-pot in his left hand at the *tū* dairy called *ōmḡḡ* broke

⁹ See Rivers, p. 274.[Sets of *poḷjoiḷ* among the *tōṭṛas* - ANALYST]

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wind loudly eighteen times." As a result of this exploit, the men of this *pojoi* are forbidden to become *pojoi* to this *ti*. Another story is told of these people, similar to that told of the *moγδwtkoit* *vojvojoi* of the other division. It is said that a child was heated at the fire (it seems with the intention of making ghee from it) until it died. Then it was hung up on a tree and the people wept, closing one eye. All these stories were checked by getting them from as many different informants as possible, and agreement on them is very close, though details differ in the different accounts. The large element of the ridiculous in them puts them in line with the *kūwdzwl*, the Toda's favorite sport when sitting about in a company. Stories are told of members of the company in which the wildest and most improbable actions are attributed to them. Why the *pojoi* should have become the object of such sport it is hard to say, but under the circumstances one cannot seek for much historical truth in the stories.

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A number of taboos on actions and language operate in the intercourse between *ūwdmorkvæidvoj* and *pojoi* of opposite sex. The primary one is the taboo on sexual intercourse, and most of the others are obviously to be considered as avoidances of incitement to this. The taboos begin to operate at puberty. They apply also to relations between parents and adult children, especially between father and daughter (it is to be remembered that a daughter when married no longer belongs strictly to the father's *mod*), and to relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law (she is strictly not related to him as *ūwdmorkvæidvoj*) and between mother-in-law and son-in-law (she is not in any sense his *pojoi* or his *ūwdmorkvæidvoj*). It is said that the taboos have now slackened somewhat except between father and daughter, and the impression given is that observance of them was never very rigid except when a fairly large company was present. For example, it is clear from Rivers' account and from my informants' accounts that irregular sexual intercourse was and is common. When it is found out and becomes known to the people of the tribe, the *noijm* or council takes cognizance of it and imposes on the man a fine of at least one buffalo.

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Most of the taboos on action, other than that on sexual intercourse, seem designed to prevent physical contact or the unchaperoned presence in one another's company of a man and a woman of the prohibited degrees of affinity. In the latter class must be put the prohibition against two such persons traveling together unaccompanied from one place to another. An exception is made for a man and his mother. Taboos against physical contact are as follows. They may not sit on the same *twup* or raised earth seat; they may not touch one another, and so may not assist one another in dress-

2. [See pp 106 and 107, cat. 539--Analyst]

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TODAS OF THE NILGIRIS

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sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed calf of the *erkumpthipimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a *ti-mad* called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division.

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the *tarvalikartmikh* has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety, he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmikh* can sleep with the Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The *wursol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married. The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. River's Book, Observed in the Field*, see Bibliography).

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property. This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxori-local dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless to be part of her own *polkhilol*. Inheritance is always exclusively through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin

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is not exactly the same for it is not an institutionalized form of marriage, the way the *tchamadoong* is in Tibet. A monk I met at Spitook, a monastery close to Leh in Ladak, told me that he knew five families with *tchamadoongs* in Gyantse. I have noted their names and hope to be able to study them on the spot.

Toda Polyandry. I shall now try to show how polyandry, as practiced by the Todas, differs radically from the Tibetan system. This is a worth-while consideration, for it shows how polyandry, though it is basically the same organization, can appear in different forms throughout the world.

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The Todas are probably the best-known primitive people in the world. Anthropologists mention them repeatedly. They live in the southern Indian hills, called Nilghiris, west of Madras. There are very few of them left, only about 600, and they were very well described by Doctor Rivers at the beginning of this century, though much could still be learned about them, as Rivers admits himself. He made many discoveries, but also made several mistakes. In his book, the chapter on religion tells the amusing story of some investigators who had been there before, who tried to note down the names of the various gods the Todas have in their shrines. One god has a very long name, which, to this author, seemed to be correct, but, as Rivers pointed out in his book, the words that appeared as the "name" really mean, in Toda, "Give me another rupee and I will tell you what this god is called." It is easy to understand what happened. I think that similar progress could be made in the investigation of Toda polyandry, but that Rivers did not go into it completely and sufficiently.

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Unfortunately, as I have said, the Todas are a dying-out people, there being only 600 left, of which only about 50 per cent are polyandrous, i.e., a much smaller proportion than among the Tibetans. The Todas are divided into two main clans, a superior leading class called the Thartars,

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and an inferior clan which serves the Thartars, known as Teivil. They have no landed property like the Tibetans, but are herdsmen and have large herds of buffalo, some of which are sacred. In this case, therefore, we do not find the polyandry grouped around landed property which is not supposed to be divided. The Todas only practise fraternal polyandry, and when I asked them if they practised non-fraternal polyandry, as in the case of the *magpa* marriage among the Tibetans, they were very shocked. They thought it was a very immoral idea that two men, not being brothers, could have one wife in common.

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The country in which these Todas live is not barren like Tibet. On the contrary, they live in a very wooded area. Part of the present Todas actually live on a golf course, because British troops have quarters in this area and the officers have set up a sporting club which includes part of the Toda territory. The houses are very small, built only for protection, and radically different from any native construction which their neighbors have. I do not know where they got this architectural style, and nobody has been able to trace its origin. There is a rather tiny door through which one has to bend to enter. The house is all thatched, very well built, and quite snug inside. The front is made of boards, and there is a wall around for protection.

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Men and women alike are dressed in long, flowing, white robes, with red and black stripes on them. They are of an obviously Indian type, rather good-looking. Some of them have progressive ideas to the extent of wearing spectacles, because they are either far- or short-sighted. They are quite good physical specimens of humanity, the color of their skin being dark brown and their hair jet black. The men are very hairy. Some of them wear turbans, but usually they go about bare-headed, showing a rich growth of black hair which they all have, young and old. I wondered if they had a secret formula for hair-dressing but they do not seem to

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and chattel of the men. She is looked down upon, considered as part of the property, as part of the household, and must pay obeisance to her husbands. She does this by bending down and putting her head under the feet of the husbands, which is the typical Toda salute of respect. There is an initiation ceremony very similar to the Tibetan one, in which the boys' and girls' hair is cut early and even one of the ears is pierced. However, here it differs from the Tibetan custom, in that it is the maternal uncle who does this, which is rather curious and may show some influence of a matrilineal, matriarchal nature.

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Particularly extraordinary among the Todas is the fact that no girl of the Thartar clan (the superior section of the Todas) is allowed to be married as a virgin. She has to be deflorated first by a member of the Teivil clan. This seemed to me to be so extraordinary that I decided to look into it a bit more closely. Teivil girls can marry as virgins, but the Thartar girls must be deflorated first by a Teivil before they can marry a Thartar. Naturally, that kind of thing is difficult to find out about, because the people are too shy to speak about it. When I finally got hold of an old Toda and asked him what the reason was, it took me at least a month to find out. I gave him a lot of presents, among other things a bag of rice and a calf buffalo, and still he would not speak. Finally, I found out that it was not that he was unwilling to do it despite the presents I had given him; on the contrary, he would have very much liked to tell me about it, but seemed to be scared to speak about it in the Toda area. He was afraid of the spirits and the Toda gods if he revealed so intimate a secret. Consequently, I decided to take him miles away, out of the Toda area, where his gods and spirits could not get hold of him. We drove at least 100 miles away from the Nilghiris before we stopped by the side of the road and I again asked him, "Why do you practice this custom?" His answer was very

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interesting. He said that, if they did not do this, the maternal uncle of the girl would die. This seemed very surprising, so I asked why. He said, "I do not know. It is like that. If she were allowed to marry as a virgin, her maternal uncle would die." When asked what would happen if the girl actually did marry as a virgin, he said, "Sometimes it happens, and there is just one chance again for the maternal uncle to save himself. That is, he should take the young girl and shave all her hair off. It is the only chance he has of saving his life."

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I thought, from a psychoanalytical point of view, this was most interesting because it seems to me as if there were a feeling of guilt in the defloration of such a young lady; that the Oedipus complex comes out here although it has been transferred to the maternal uncle. He is the one who is threatened by consummation of the act (as a father would be in a son-father sexual conflict), and he can only save himself by castrating the girl (displacement of the suitor?) by cutting off her hair. Those are hypothetical psychoanalytical interpretations, I know, but they seem to me strong indications that these people have probably much the same complexes that we have in the West.

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Relationships between the husbands and the wife among the Todas are different from those among the Tibetans. They are not promiscuous in any way, and in their marital relations the brothers go strictly in turn. They, too, will tell you that, in past times, their grandfathers (or ancestors still further removed) used to leave their stick at the door, or their shoes, or something, always to show they were there. This is not practiced "any more"; the brothers know by intuition that one of them is with the common wife, or he tells the others openly that he is going to do it.

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As far as morality is concerned, polyandry is not enforced in the same way as among the Tibetans. It is somewhat lax and usually applied only to the woman. The men perpetually seem to be stealing